Daily Report

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Report on Zhelev's Assembly Address on U.S. Trip

AU1210122790 Sofia BTA in English 2148 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 11 Oct (BTA)—Today President Zhelyu Zhelev delivered a speech at the Grand National Assembly to render an account of the recent visit he paid to the United States and France.

First of all we wanted to change Bulgaria's image in the eyes of the outside world, to improve it not through declarations and statements, but mainly by pointing out all the things the Bulgarian people have achieved in their struggle for democracy. We wanted to show to the political circles in the West and in the United States and France in particular that the people who live in Bulgaria are fighting a dramatic battle for democracy and for the revival of their economy in the same way the other peoples in Eastern Europe do, the president said.

He pointed out that no matter how slow and sporadic the changes in Bulgaria may seem to be at first glance, in less than a year important changes had been carried out in Bulgaria which in actual fact destroyed the basis of the totalitarian system and ensured the irreversibility of the processes of democratization. We wanted to focus attention on Bulgaria and evoke sympathy for her, thus trying to ensure political, financial and technological support for her transition from a state-controlled planned economy to a free market one, the president said.

Another goal was to secure as much as possible humanitarian aid for the country, because it proved to be one of the countries that were most severely hit by the Persian Gulf crisis. This was by no means mendacity or a shady deal, Dr. Zhelev stated. It was an absolutely lawful request which is provided for in the statute of the United Nations organization. In such cases the country concerned should get compensation and should be given aid by the other members of the world organization.

The president informed the parliament in detail about the meetings he had with state leaders of the United States, France, Turkey, Yugoslavia and Greece.

During the talks he had with President Jovic of Yugoslavia attention focussed on the so-called Macedonian problem. Bulgaria has no claims on Yugoslavia, the president said. This problem has been artificially created and fabricated, it will be better for both countries to restrain from taking their domestic problems outside their borders. In this respect the right of the population to self-determination is the basic criteria Bulgaria applies in the pursuance of her policy on the national problem. No one in Bulgaria has the right to dictate to the population of the Republic of Macedonia how to identify themselves when their national awareness is involved. In the same way no one in the territory of Yugoslavia has the right to prescribe to the Bulgarian population of the Pirin area how to identify themselves. A consensus was reached on these main points of the talks, Dr. Zhelev said.

He informed the members of parliament about the meetings he had with state leaders of Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union.

His talks with Minister Shevardnadze were open and goodwilled. The president said that the Bulgarian delegation described the catastrophic situation of the Bulgarian economy a result not only of the crisis in the Persian Gulf, but also of the abnormally close economic relations between Bulgaria and the USSR. The Soviet market accounts for two-thirds of Bulgaria's foreign trade. Almost all Bulgarian works and power supply sources have been making their plans by relying on Soviet resources. In this situation the crisis that has hit the Soviet economy cannot but have a strongly negative impact on the Bulgarian economy. As a result of the decision of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance on the settlement of all payments for raw materials in hard currency as of the beginning of 1991, Bulgaria will be faced with a catastrophe. Dr. Zhelev said that as the Bulgarian economy is closely bound to the Soviet economy in a unique way, the Bulgarian delegation had asked Mr. Shevardnadze for the Soviet Union's making an exception, if possible, and postponing the switch to hard currency payments, thus allowing Bulgaria a transitional period in which she would settle her payments in the old way and prepare for the new type of economic relations when she will pay for the raw materials supplied to her in hard currency, too.

The president underlined that being reform-minded, Mr. Shevardnadze had shown complete understanding and sympathy for Bulgaria's difficulties and promised to discuss the problem of giving Bulgaria help to this effect with President Gorbachev and the other Soviet leaders. Dr. Zhelev had sent a personal message to Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev and had invited him to visit Bulgaria. An invitation had been extended to President Zhelev to visit the Soviet Union.

I think the time has come when we can build up equally close and friendly relations both with the Soviet Union and with the United States, the president stated.

Offering detailed information about the meetings he had in the United States, the president said that they had contributed a lot to changing Bulgaria's image.

President Zhelev reported about some concrete agreements that had been reached.

An agreement was signed with the American Peace Corps on cooperation with Bulgaria. A declaration of the world meeting on children's problems and a plan for action until the year 2000 was also signed; Bulgaria undertook to create better conditions for the coming generation. Bulgaria was admitted to membership in the International Monetary Fund. An agreement on trade between Bulgaria and the United States was concluded

which opens prospects for Bulgaria's acquiring most favored nation status in her trade with the United States in the immediate future. The U.S. Government gave assurances that Bulgaria would receive humanitarian aid directly from the United States and from the Group of 24. Contacts were established with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University in Boston for a broader cooperation and exchange of students. The American side expressed readiness to work out a strategy for solving Bulgaria's power supply problems. Assistance was offered in the implementation of legal reforms in the field of constitutional, criminal and civil law which would strengthen the multiparty democracy in the country and would safeguard the citizens' rights. Assistance was also offered in the working out of a strategy and legislation in banking and privatization and the agrarian reform. The U.S. Government proposed to ensure experts who would help determine the environmental problems for the solution of which the United States could be most useful for Bulgaria. Technical assistance for the independent mass media was offered along with aid in business and market economy training and technical assistance in agriculture. There is a possibility of receiving help in the development of a housing accommodation market, in financing of the construction industry and the reconstruction of enterprises. The American side expressed readiness to study the possibilities of providing technical experts in fields such as taxation policy, privatization and banking.

President Zhelev expressed his gratitude to the President of the United States, Mr. George Bush, former U.S. President Ronald Reagan and France's President Francois Mitterrand for the generously offered possibilities for aid and equality-based cooperation in all spheres of social life.

He paid special attention to his visit to France, which abounded in many and useful meetings.

Agreements were reached on the extension of the two countries' trade, on the delivery of food stuffs, meat, powdered milk and other products. An agreement was reached for the exchange of working teams between the respective state institutions which would work out projects for the restructuring of the system of health care in Bulgaria, for the establishment of a private sector, for the development of a new social security system. Some details related to the elections for local authorities were discussed along with the necessity of conducting cooperation with France in the field of decentralization of the local administration and the work of the police. An agreement was reached on the work of joint expert groups within the frame work of which Bulgarian and French experts would define the ways of implementing the transition to a market economy.

Some details related to the European Community member-nations' immediately granting humanitarian aid to Bulgaria were discussed with Mr. Jacques Delors, president of the Commission of the European Community.

President Mitterrand gave assurances that Bulgaria and the young Bulgarian democracy could fully rely on France in the country's effort to get integrate with all important European political and economic structures.

Commenting on Bulgaria's position on the crisis in the Persian Gulf, President Zhelev stated:

"We are for the peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Persian Gulf. Our long economic and political relations, our cooperation with the Arab peoples, the people of Iraq included, make us want the good of them. We would be the first to hail a peaceful settlement of the conflict, if it is really realizable and efficient. We would be the first to congratulate Saddam Husayn if he reconsiders his initial decision and withdraws the Iraqi troops from Kuwait; we would not consider such a decision to be an expression of weakness and cowardice, but as an act of political maturity and wisdom. But until such a decision is made, we are obliged to support the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, to strictly observe the embargo and to send a limited military contingent in that region. Thus we can prove that we are prepared not only to observe, but also to defend the sacred principles of the United Nations organization that guarantee the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of each small country, no matter which part of the world it is situated in. Bulgaria is also a small country which could easily fall a victim to an aggression. And if in international relations the stronger are allowed to devour the weaker ones, as it is in the jungle, Bulgaria could hardly escape her tragic fate. These considerations become all the more important today, having in mind that the former guarantees for our national security and territorial integrity are gradually vanishing. Up to now we have been able to rely on the guarantees given to us by the Warsaw Treaty Organization of which Bulgaria is a member and by the bilateral treaty concluded with the Soviet Union. But now the Warsaw Treaty Organization as a military union is disintegrating and it can no longer play the role of such a guarantor. The other guarantor we have, the Soviet Union, is also having hard times. The democratic process in that country inevitably leads to sweeping changes in the former structure of the state. The question is not about reform-minded Soviet leaders such as Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Shevardnadze and others in the goodwill of whom we do not doubt at all; in this case we have an objective process which is developing despite their intentions and independently of them. An objective process which in certain circumstances can deprive them of the possibility of being guarantors. That is why Bulgaria should seek new, sufficiently reliable guarantees for her national security and territorial integrity without giving up the ones she has now."

"In result of the universalization of international relations and their democratization and humanization, we can seek guarantees not by binding ourselves to a great power and becoming its satellite or a tool it would use in its struggle with other political blocs and groupings, as it was the case with Germany before and at the time of World War II and with the Soviet Union after the war,

but by integrating the country with the united European and world community," President Zhelev stated.

He underlined that in the new conditions the efficiency of the United Nations can and should be a guarantee for the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of all states.

In reply to those who consider that his position on the Gulf crisis is too warlike, the president reminded that according to the Constitution he is obliged to ensure the national security of the country.

"When former guarantees are being destroyed, I am obliged to look for new guarantees and besides in keeping our Armed Forces at the level of the so-called reasonable sufficiency, these guarantees should be also sought for in the strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations organization, in the firm support and defense of the international legal norms in which these principles are laid down. In this sense our firm position on the events in the Persian Gulf, the condemnation of the aggression, the insistence on the unconditional withdrawal of the troops of Iraq from Kuwait and the restoration of the lawful government of Kuwait and the readiness to send a Bulgarian military unit within the framework of the international armed security forces mean first of all giving support to the world organization and observing the norms of international law, thus defending our own national security too," the president stated.

The president proposed that the Grand National Assembly should make a respective decision on a voluntary basis, because in this case the question is about an extremely important and responsible act of historical significance for the country. He suggested that the voting should not be anonymous, but a roll-call vote.

In conclusion President Zhelev pointed out that the leadership of the state is doing and will continue to do its utmost for relieving the condition of the Bulgarians in Iraq and for their coming back home. "We are acting through the committee for sanctions with the United Nations Security Council, the United States, the Soviet Union and directly. These days a summit level delegation of the government will be send to Iraq, the president said.

Execution of Three Terrorists in 1988 Revealed

AU1210154290 Sofia BTA in English 1515 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Oct (BTA)—The death sentences passed on three Bulgarian citizens, who committed terrorist acts during the so-called "regenerative process", were carried out on September 6, 1988, Mr. Angel Dzhambazov, deputy minister of justice, told parliament today.

Emil Madzharov, Altsek Chakurov and Sava Georgiev were found guilty of terrorist acts involving explosive devices in 1985 at Varna Airport, on the train from Burgas to Sofia and at a hotel in the town of Sliven. Seven people were killed and 20 were injured in these incidents. The three planned to plant explosive devices on the beaches of two major seaside resorts in the summer of 1986 and 1987. They had weapons, ammunition and explosives in large amounts.

Between 1983 and 1987 the three damaged and destroyed public property valued at over 180,000 leva. The link of the terrorist acts with the campaign of ethnic Turks' forcible renaming has not been proved, Mr Dzhambazov said.

The relatives of the condemned men have not been informed about the executions so far. The Prosecutor General's Office and the local authorities have been notified. The local authorities were supposed to hand their personal effects to their families but failed to do so. The news never reached the newspapers, either, despite the common practice to release to the press announcements of executions.

5,000 Interior Ministry Employees Fired 1989-90

AU1210153590 Sofia BTA in English 1505 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Oct (BTA)—Between November 10, 1989 and August 1990 the Ministry of Internal Affairs has dismissed 5,139 of its employees. Seventy percent of them worked for the former State Security, Mr. Pencho Penev, minister of internal affairs, told parliament today.

The newly established Service for Protection of the Constitution employees well trained people of high moral prestige, the minister emphasized. Seventy-six percent of those dismissed retired on pension, 20 percent quit at their own request, and 4 percent left for other reasons. The redundancies have found work in agriculture, in construction, in the services sector, in private companies and distributive trade. "None of them engages in activities against the democratic processes in Bulgaria," Mr. Penev said.

Seven hundred former State Security members have moved to the police and to the fire service. The Ministry of Internal Affairs will use the services of many of its dismissed employees to combat the black market.

The Bulgarian law enforcement authorities do not employ foreign task forces, Mr. Pencho Penev said. He denied the allegations of the "DIALOGUE" newspaper that Vietnamese or Koreans have been used for repressive purposes. Mr. Penev also dismissed the rumors that the Bulgarian services have been instructed by Western experts to manipulate the unregistered organizations at the outset of the democratic changes in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian law enforcement authorities now maintain contacts with foreign experts in drug smuggling control. Members of the police force will be trained in Austria, the minister said. Bulgaria will cooperate with Germany. Members of the Red Beret anti-terrorist commandos will receive training in Germany and Holland.

Asked about the Otpor ("Resistance") clandestine organization, which has "sentenced" to death MP's of different factions, the minister said that an operation is under way to detect it. For the time being, however, he has nothing more to say on the matter.

Opinion Poll Shows Fall in Socialists' Popularity

AU1310194890 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Oct (BTA)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, is the most popular politician in Bulgaria, according to the latest poll conducted by the National Centre for Public Opinion Research. Dr. Zhelev was approved by 78 per cent of the respondents.

The results of the survey, which were made public on national television this evening, show that the approval ratings of the leaders of the ruling Socialist Party [BSP] are declining. With the exception of the prime minister, Mr. Andrey Lukanov, and of the vice president, General Atanas Semerdzhiev, who rank second and third, respectively, mostly opposition leaders take the rest of the top ten places.

The poll shows increased public support for the Green movements in Bulgaria. The Union of Democratic Forces has also gained in approval (60 per cent), while public support for the Socialist Party has eroded: for the first time the BSP gets more disapproval (48 per cent) than approval (40 per cent).

38 per cent of those polled would vote for the Union of Democratic Forces, and the Socialists can count on 25.6 per cent. Compared to the previous poll, more people said now they would abstain from voting: over 18 per cent of the respondents.

The results suggest that people are unhappy with the work of the Grand National Assembly: 62 per cent disapprove and only 13 per cent approve.

Military Education Chief on Reform Process

AU1010184790 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Petur Iliev, chief of the Educational Work Administration of the National Defense Ministry, by Colonel Boris Khristov; place and date not given: "The New Era Indicates the Path of Changes"; first paragraph is NARODNA ARMIYA introduction]

[Excerpts] The publication of Decree No. 126 on the Depoliticization of the Bulgarian People's Army was followed by fundamental changes and substantial cadre reorganizations. The structure of the political organs was totally dismantled. A new structure of the educational organs was developed. This process is taking place in an atmosphere of high political tensions in public life, which also involve the military circles. Sharp controversies have emerged. For this particular reason and in connection with the beginning of the new training year, we interviewed Lieutenant General Petur Iliev on some topical problems concerning the work of the educational organs in the Army.

[Khristov] Comrade Lieutenant General Iliev, how would you briefly describe the recent activities of the educational organs in the Army, and which are their most essential positive and negative aspects, according to you?

[Iliev] The fundamental changes in our society and the dynamic democratization processes in particular quite naturally involved the Army, which is part of our society. The new structure of the educational organs in the Bulgarian People's Army is one of the most specific confirmations of the real changes that occurred in accordance with the new conditions and requirements. [passage omitted]

According to our evaluation, and regardless of the brief period within which the educational organs were established and are functioning, they essentially contributed to the general efforts of consolidating combat readiness, morale, combat spirit, discipline and the ethical principles in the behavior of our military collectives.

I would like to stress, at the same time, that we encountered serious difficulties during the period under review in connection with the officers' skill in mastering their new obligations and in connection with implementing the reforms within the troops. The necessary favorable conditions to assist the officers and soldiers in their efforts to assume their new obligations are missing in several units. The improvement of the officers' professional qualifications is also lagging behind. [passage omitted]

[Khristov] Can you describe the most significant difficulties and circumstances obstructing the extensive development of educational work and the improvement of its effectiveness?

[Iliev] We encounter numerous difficulties in the process of our work. Nevertheless, I will only mention a few of them which I consider the most significant.

First, I would mention the difficult situation under which the educational organs are doing their work. You are acquainted with the notorious efforts of certain mass media and individuals to attack these organs with unfounded arguments. The specific facts related to depoliticization in the Army are deliberately ignored. All this creates a very unpleasant atmosphere of insecurity and tension under which the officers of the educational organs are expected to accomplish their duty. This cannot fail to exert a negative effect upon the efficiency of their work with the troops. [passage omitted]

[Khristov] In this particular respect, what do you think about the draft project on depoliticization submitted by President Zhelyu Zhelev?

[Iliev] According to my understanding, depoliticization means that the Army should be independent from the political parties existing in the country, and that the military personnel, in fulfilling their duties, should be exclusively guided by the ideas and principles of the Constitution, that officers and soldiers should solely serve the national interests. There is no justification whatsoever for the existence of groups, motivated by party ambitions and political passions within the Army, which can only have a disastrous effect upon the unity and fighting capacity of the Armed Forces. From this point of view, I support the idea of adding an appropriate formula, banning membership in political parties, to the new law on the Armed Forces in the purpose of promoting the further depoliticization process. It is my conviction that we should find the most effective legal form likely to protect and defend the honor of the Bulgarian People's Army personnel. [passage omitted]

Prosecutor's Office on 'Extremities' in Press

AU1210134490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Oct 90 p 2

[Unattributed BTA report: "Chief Prosecutor's Office and Extremities in Press"]

[Text] In implementation of the prerogatives given to them by the Constitution and other legal acts, the organs of the Chief Prosecutor's Office systematically study critical articles with a view to adopting measures against the perpetrators of crimes and violations involved in cases described by those articles, an announcement of the Chief Prosecutor's Office reads.

In this context the Chief Prosecutor's Office revealed a number of difficulties it encounters in implementing its prerogatives, namely: the sharp increase in the number of newspapers, the great number of critical articles, the unfounded character of a significant part of the tip-offs and proposals for interference on the part of the Chief Prosecutor's Office, the lack of cooperation on the part of some mass media, and so forth. The Chief Prosecutor's Office points out the necessity of adopting a law on the press, which could settle some of the aforementioned issues.

Having noted the aforementioned issues as well as the unquestionable role of a free and democratic press in constructing the democratic society, the organs of the Chief Prosecutor's Office also note the frequent violations of normative acts by certain authors and mass media. Articles containing insults or slander of officials in connection with the implementation of their duties, and which are subject to punishment on the basis of Article 148, paragraph 1, item 3, and paragraph 2 of the Penal Code, are inadmissible.

On the basis of Article 187, paragraph 4 of the Penal-Procedure Code, the Chief Prosecutor's Office issued an order to begin a preliminary investigation of guilty persons.

Vulkov Elected Interparliamentary Group President

AU1210160590 Sofia BTA in English 1509 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Oct (BTA)—Mr Viktor Vulkov, the leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), was elected today president of the Bulgarian Interparliamentary Group.

Mr Vulkov, 54, is son of a prominent agrarian functionary who was killed before September 9, 1944 for his antifascist convictions. He is a qualified electrical engineer. He has worked long at the BZNS Standing Committee. He has been member of the diplomatic service.

"Our membership of the Interparliamentary Union is of great importance," Mr. Vulkov emphasized when he was nominated president of the Interparliamentary Group. Mr. Vulkov's deputies will be Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, Mr. Stefan Stoyanov of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and Mr. Ahmed Dogan of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms.

Pushkarov Says Economic Program Shows Progress

AU1210163690 Sofia BTA in English 1518 GMT 12 Oct 90

["Government Program Draws Fire"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 12 (BTA)—In an article which appears in today's "SVOBODEN NAROD", Mr. Ivan Pushkarov MP of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and chairman of the Parliamentary Subcommittee on Privatization, writes that the government has made progress in its views on the economic reform and has adopted some of the ideas contained in the SDS platform. Commenting on the government program, which the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov presented to parliament on Wednesday [10 October], Mr. Pushkarov, an economic expert, writes that "in his economic program Mr. Lukanov emerges as a right-wing prime minister."

Still, the program does not identify resources and says nothing about the timing of things and which comes after what, Mr. Pushkarov believes. In his view it has yet to be seen whether the program is realistic: this will become evident when the specific government initiatives which will go before parliament are being assessed, Mr. Pushkarov says. He believes that the program should be supported in its separate steps when they seek a genuine reform.

Another point on which Mr. Pushkarov criticizes the program is its failure to present a national budget. It is

unclear whether the budget will make it possible to do everything listed in the program, no matter how fine the intentions may be.

In his view the program does not meet a crucial economic requirement of a profound economic character. The government program, the opposition expert believes, should have necessarily said that all BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] property is state property. In the time since November 10, 1989 the party nomenklatura has secured for itself strong economic positions by usurping state property in the form of party companies. Mr. Pushkarov urges for a comprehensive inquiry.

He calls into question the way in which the program separates the pre-stabilization measures from the reform itself. He also objects against the logic of the reform: it is unclear in what order the government will implement it. "It can always change its tactics," the opposition MP believes.

The government program has drawn fire from other opposition MP's and experts as well, mainly because it sets no deadlines.

Everybody praise the government for drawing extensively on the us project developed under Dr. Richard Rahn. Some critics assert, however, that the American project was merely used as a screen and has nothing to do with the Socialists' campaign platform. Some economists fear lest the American recommendations be used in a half-hearted and isolated manner and thus prove ineffective.

1990 Economic Performance, Slowdown Reviewed

AU0810104890 Sofia BTA in English 0943 GMT 8 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 8 Oct (BTA)—In the last six months the cost of living in Bulgaria has soared by 25 percent, the Central Statistical Department announces today.

In the January-September 1990 period the output amounts to 50.7 milliard leva, which is 10.7 percent less compared with the same period last year; the volume of the goods produced has dropped by 13 percent.

Compared with the first eight months of the year, in September the production results are a little better, but yet they are considerably lower that those of September 1989.

Only 30 percent of the state-run companies in the industrial and the services sector do not show a decline in their production this year.

The most important cause for the drop of the production is the chronic shortage of raw materials and feed-stock. That is why the volume of non-produced output amounts to 3.2 milliard leva, which accounts for more than 52 percent of the total drop of the output.

As some productions were closed down, more than 24 thousand people has become redundant since the beginning of the year. Only seven thousand of them have found new jobs.

The drop of production is the greatest in machine-building and metal-working, the chemical and the petroleum-processing industry, the food industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy.

In spite of the enormous shortage of all kinds of goods, commodity turnover has increased by 1.2 milliard leva compared with 1989, having reached an amount of 15.2 milliard leva in the last nine months. The cause is the rise in prices.

The Central Statistical Department announces that bigger quantities of goods, which are extremely scarce to find in the shops in all big cities, have been provided: cheese, flour, rice, milk, yellow cheese, vinegar, table wines. Compared with 1989, the quantities of sugar and sugar products, vegetable oil, meat, fish, eggs, ready and ready-to-cook foods, fresh vegetables and fruit, potatoes and children's food offered for sale are smaller.

Goods necessary for the winter are not available in the market: children's clothes, knitwear, stockings and socks, shoes, matches, electric batteries, fuel.

The observation of 1700 goods shows that in the May-September period the average rise in the prices was 25 percent.

Bulgaria's exports have dropped: by 2,513.8 million currency leva for the CMEA member-countries and by 2,273.8 million leva for all other importers of Bulgarian goods.

Compared with 1989 the agricultural output of public farms has decreased: of seed-maize by 771 thousand tons; of beet-sugar by 360 thousand tons; of tomatoes by 95 thousand tons; of potatoes by 63 thousand tons; of apples by 93 thousand tons; of sunflower by 79 thousand tons.

Great quantities of the crop have not been harvested yet: beet-sugar, grapes, seed-maize, potatoes. Except for peppers, the harvest of all other crops is smaller than last year's.

The quantities of bought-up animal products are decreasing the decline is greater with state-owned enterprises and lesser with individual farms.

The Central Statistical Department foresees a certain increase of production in October compared to the first nine months of this year, but no improvement is expected in comparison with last year's results.

Results of Crackdown on Black Market Evident

AU1210163990 Sofia BTA in English 1511 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Oct (BTA, Boyko Borisov)—The large group of mothers and children and pensioners who patiently waited for the local supermarket to open just could not believe their eyes. The shelves, which have been desperately bear for weeks, today were full of everything one may wish for.

"Am I not dreaming," a young mother with a three-month-old baby was obviously asking herself. She stood in front of the meat and sausages counter. In the place where one could see only a few scraggy ribs of mutton before, now pieces of fresh veal and several types of salami stood neatly arranged.

Good Lord, we lived long enough to see it, murmured an old woman bent down with age, frantically filling her basket with flour, eggs, vinegar and other long forgotten goods.

But the old woman was wrong. This was not the first day of the Bulgarian economy's "resurrection", but the result of the first attack of the police on black marketeering.

A lot of big shops in Sofia, Varna, Plovdiv, Veliko Turnovo and other cities have been simultaneously inspected. The coordinated actions of the police in the last two days were the first test for the law recently adopted by parliament on the elimination of the black market. The raids proved something, which has been a public secret since long ago: while the shops are empty, the storage rooms are crowded with goods which are sold to "one's own people" only or appear through secret channels in the black market, naturally at double prices.

The indignation of the people who had stood in for long hours in front of the Sofia supermarket is perfectly understandable. They were ready to tear to pieces the manager of the shop who was "explaining" to the policemen that "every day" she "offered small quantities for sale so that everybody can get something."

Food stuffs, TV sets, furniture—all these items emerged from storage rooms after the inspections were carried out. This fact confirmed the opinion that most of the employees in the state-run retail network have turned into a "Mafia" that blackmarkets everything.

It seems that the pessimistic forecasts according to which black marketeers would hardly be scared by the solid (as ordinary people think) amounts they are fined with will prove to be right, having in mind the astronomic profits they pocket in no time.

Will the police, "armed" with the new law, be able to cope the black market? People do not deceive themselves—they know that the police raids have revealed only the top of the iceberg although it is still a very impressive top for the small country Bulgaria is. Large quantities of concealed goods are being brought to light, their value amounting to millions of leva's worth.

This is a crackdown intended rather to deter black marketeers, an officer from the Sofia Department of the Ministry of the Interior said. They should realize that measures are being taken to curb the phenomenon.

Mr. Valeri Tsekov, minister of trade and services, sees the only way of reducing black marketeering to "a normal size" in the implementation of a sweeping price reform. Without a liberalization of the prices the crisis cannot be overcome, he said in an interview given to DUMA.

Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov submitted to the Bulgarian parliament the draft program of the government, the key point of which is the liberalization of prices combined with a "controlled increase" of incomes.

Judging by the first commentaries on the draft, the Bulgarians are prepared for the "shock therapy" suggested by Mr. Lukanov. In the hope they may live to see the "resurrection" of the economy on the basis of marketization.

And until this time comes, the Bulgarian housewives will keep asking the police which supermarket they are going to check next.

Shortage of Bread Anticipated; Rationing Likely

AU1210160390 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 11 Oct 90 p 1

[Velichka Petkova article: "October Will Measure Bread Rations in Grams"]

[Excerpt] We still do not need coupons for bread. However, it would be logical to anticipate this development in the near future. This is logical because as of 1 October 1.7 million decares less have been sown with wheat in comparison with 1989, and because the government merely repeated for the second and third time its lavish promises without doing anything to implement them. Is this a paradox or an anachronism? Who knows. Perhaps this is an inherent Bulgarian characteristic? Many of the people somehow connected with our bread are predicting a perilous situation in 1991. However, they—the specialists, chairmen of enterprises, experts, and ministers—were not able to do what was necessary. They should know that anything we do after the expiration of the agro-technical period of sowing the wheat will be in vain. Their reports, assessments, and decisions are of a purely administrative nature, and aim to kick the issue up to a higher level. Perhaps in the future those volumes of correspondence will become an exotic archive. However, as of today they have not changed anything in the desperate situation in the fields. [passage omitted]

Minister Says Food Supply Problems Will Persist

AU1210170690 Sofia BTA in English 1532 GMT 12 Oct 90

["Food Supply Problems Will Persist"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 12 Oct (BTA)—The state is handing out extra land for personal holdings and cuts by 10 percent the profits tax on privately produced agricultural output, Mr. Todor Pandov, minister of agriculture and the food industry, told parliament today.

The new government's program plans to increase the amount of land for personal holding. Still, Mr. Pandov believes that until the end of this year Bulgarians will have problems with the supply of sugar, cooking oil and other prime necessities.

The minister described as "encouraging" the news that Austria will deliver 400 tonnes of sausages by the end of the year in the form of humanitarian aid. Under the terms of the delivery, the proceeds from the sale of the sausages will go into a fund to credit private farmers.

Trade Minister Tsekov on Market Shortcomings

AU1210182190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Oct 90 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Trade and Service Minister Valeri Tsekov by Ekaterina Genova; place and date not given: "Prices, Coupons, and Inaction Destroy the Market"]

[Excerpts] [Genova] People say that the goods disappear somewhere between the producers and the market. Is this true?

[Tsekov] This is true to a certain extent. The mere fact that we started to regulate consumption with coupons indicates that the situation in the market prompts various uncontrollable actions. I continue to oppose the coupons. This is a command method, or even a characteristic of war communism. Instead of seeking ways of influencing the market through economic means, we resort to the most simple method. The people are even stocking goods for which they do not need coupons. We keep stocking, the goods disappear, and thus the need for new coupons is born. [passage omitted]

[Genova] What prevents the introduction of real market prices?

[Tsekov] The political situation prevents it, despite the fact that all Bulgarian economists know the truth. However, when market prices are mentioned, the people begin to invoke preelection platforms and promises. In the meantime the economy sinks daily, because you do not introduce a market economy through election slogans. It must be known that without releasing the prices there will be no solution to the crisis. Adjusting the prices to conform real expenditures will stimulate production. The production of the private companies will especially increase. Those companies have difficulties in obtaining subsidies from the state. Free prices will demolish the monopoly and competition will appear. This is the most important condition of lowering prices.

[Genova] How can the buyer be convinced that the new meat price, for example, could save meat production in Bulgaria?

[Tsekov] We have reached a situation in which the peasant prefers to sell his milk for the purchase price of 80 stotinki per liter. The milk is transported to the city, processed, and then the peasant can purchase it back for 30 stotinki per liter. Is this normal? [passage omitted]

[Genova] What are the greatest risks of the proposed economic program?

[Tsekov] We cannot say that the program is implemented "in the name of the people" and for the "benefit of the people," because we used to say this for 45 years. It must be clear that the implementation of the program will require certain sacrifices on the part of all. However, the greatest risk is in the attempt to convince the people that the proposed measures are urgent and comprise the foundation for stabilizing the economy and stimulating its growth. There are certain economic laws and changes which take place regardless of what political force is ruling the country. If a different government is formed I am sure that it will have to implement the same measures.

[Genova] Recently, the government banned the export of certain goods. Do you think this step will facilitate better supply of the market?

[Tsekov] This is a hazy, voluntaristic idea. An economy such as ours, which is connected with the foreign market, cannot afford such steps. Banning exports means closing our economy and halting local production. [passage omitted]

Lukanov Meeting on Automobile Industry in Ruse

AU1210195090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] On 12 October in Ruse a working meeting took place between Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and members of the city's provisional leadership and managers of companies and enterprises in the city. The possibilities for establishing a automobile industry in the city by restructuring the machine building enterprises in the city and cooperating with foreign companies were discussed.

At the meeting it was pointed out that the necessary prerequisites for such production exist in the city. The customs-free zone and comfortable land, air, and water transportation opportunities also facilitate such a development.

Ruse people's deputies from various parliamentary groups took part in the meeting.

Podkrepa TU Rejects Halt on Political Activity

AU1210202690 Sofia BTA in English 1931 GMT 12 Oct 90

["Podkrepa Rejects Government-Proposed Moratorium"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 12 Oct (BTA)—The Podkrepa Labor Confederation takes exception to the government-suggested "300-day moratorium on potentially destabilizing actions" and describes it as an "attempt to mislead the public and the Grand National Assembly" and as "glaring political illiteracy". According to Podkrepa, the moratorium will violate human rights and the conventions on the freedom of trade union action. As Bulgarian legislation does not lay down any such measure, the MP's can only "assume the political and the social responsibility if they vote to repeal the collective industrial disputes act and to ban trade union action for a whole year," which would rank Bulgaria among the "uncivilized reactionary regimes."

The Young Democracy Students Forum and the Young Democracy Club describe the moratorium as an "inadmissible attempt to trample on civil liberties and political freedoms". At a meeting with representatives of the students' movements, the prime minister told them bluntly that "any strike action would be countered by the government", which leads the two youth organizations to believe that "potentially destabilizing actions" cover any extra-parliamentary actions, even if they remain within the law. The organizations call for a rejection of the government-suggested moratorium.

National Interests Committee Opens Conference

AU1310200290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Today the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests opened an extraordinary national conference. According to the organizers, it has been convened because of the dynamic changes in the situation in the country.

The participants in the conference discussed problems connected with the place, role and future of the movement, which is linked through its nationwide committee. The solving of the nationality issue should precede all other reforms in Bulgaria, stated Dimitur Arnaudov, chairman of the Nationwide Committee, in his political report. This must be achieved through consensus between the political forces.

The conference received greetings messages from the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the Bulgaria Association, municipal organizations of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, and the Georgi Rakovski Officers Legion.

Nonparty Affiliation Reaffirmed

AU1410191290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] On 14 October the two-day Extraordinary National Conference of the Nationwide Committee on for the Defense of National Interests ended in Khaskovo.

The movement's present and political future was discussed both in the political report read by Dimitur Arnaudov, chairman of the committee, and by participants during the debate.

The concluding document adopted by the conference points out that the Nationwide Committee for the Defense of National Interests is a mass nonparty organization which, through its political platform, unites Bulgarian citizens regardless of their political affiliation. The document also points out that Bulgaria's national interests are threatened by the lack of a clear concept of a balanced and meaningful foreign policy.

The Nationwide Committee for the Defense of National Interest supported the declaration of the Grand National Assembly on the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

Ecoforum Association Ousts Neykov, Elects Georgiev

AU1210195290 Sofia BTA in English 1915 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Oct (BTA)—The governing board of the Ecoforum for Peace Association says that by his unauthorized and groundless actions, the former chief secretary of the association Mr. Veselin Neykov has seriously damaged the national and the international prestige of that organization of Bulgarian scientists and public figures. The declaration says that a new governing board has been elected with Mr. Pavel Georgiev as chief secretary. The new leadership, registered by the Sofia City Court, distances itself from Mr. Neykov's actions both in the Bulgarian association and in the international movement Ecoforum for Peace.

Ecoglasnost Discusses Future Structure at Meeting

AU1310152090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Bilyana Mikhaybua report from the opening of the second national meeting of the independent ecological movement Ecoglasnost at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia on 13 October—recorded]

[Text] At the very beginning of the meeting, in speeches made by Petur Slabakov, the leader of Ecoglasnost, and Dr. Petur Beron, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces and secretary of Ecoglasnost, one of the main problems of the meeting was raised, namely the need to clearly establish the identity of Ecoglasnost to preserve the purity of the name of Ecoglasnost. With this intention, they set out the

specific tasks which the 213 participants in the second national meeting of Ecoglasnost had to solve. First and foremost, it was necessary to determine the organization's structure, in order to ensure better coordination between the sections and better solving of tasks, and to give Ecoglasnost the desired striking power, as Dr. Petur Beron emphasized.

The problem of the national structure is in fact the first item on the meeting's agenda. Two proposals were submitted in this connection: The first supported a confederative structure, and the second one, as it turned out, also proposed a confederative structure. The differences were minimal, and the common point which both proposals stressed was the need for a national coordinating organ, while also preserving the autonomy of the local organizations. At the moment the participants are stating their views on the two similar ideas proposed. Later, the agenda of the second national meeting of Ecoglasnost includes the following: the election of a coordinating council, if it is decided that such an organ should be formed; discussion of strategy in connection with the forthcoming local elections; the report of the Ecoglasnost parliamentary group; and a proposal for a national ecological program.

Slabakov, Beron Reelected to Posts

AU1310200190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] The independent ecological movement Ecoglasnost held its second national meeting today in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia.

After introductory speeches by Petur Slabakov, chairman of the movement, and Dr. Petur Beron, its secretary, the participants began detailed discussions concerning Ecoglasnost's national structure. Certain changes were adopted. From now on, the leading organ will be called the National Council; during its term of office, and within two months, the National Council is to compile a new statute for the movement, draw up uniform rules, and prepare a political declaration.

Petur Slabakov, the chairman of Ecoglasnost, and Secretary Petur Beron were both reelected.

The meeting discussed Ecoglasnost's participation in the forthcoming local elections. The candidates will mainly be proposed through the Ecoglasnost Political Club.

Today's second national meeting of Ecoglasnost also adopted the Charter for Protecting the National Natural Inheritance. Detailed discussion of the national ecological program was postponed.

At the end of the meeting, a number of documents were adopted: a declaration concerning the ecological situation in Plovdiv, Kurdzhali, Srednogorie, Asenovgrad, and Kuklen.

It was decided that Ecoglasnost should join the nongovernmental organization for the ecological protection of the Black Sea.

The meeting voted to send a telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev requesting the release of the Greenpeace ship which had been detained by Soviet authorities.

Participation in Warsaw Pact Meeting Surveyed

AU1210195190 Sofia BTA in English 1916 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Oct (BTA)—Mr. Enyo Savov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, who headed the Bulgarian delegation to the third session which the special commission on Warsaw Treaty member states disarmament completed in Prague yesterday, today briefed the press on the proceedings of the meeting.

He stressed that the negotiations in Prague, as well as the previous two meetings of the commission were difficult. Various components of national security acquire increasing significance in the present conditions of weakening inter-ally relations in the Warsaw Treaty, he said. With the shift of focus on political cooperation and with the existing agreement in principle to disband the Warsaw Treaty military structure after the end of 1991, each of the countries is interested in securing an optimum amount of weapons for its national security in view of its specific interests, the deputy minister said.

At the forthcoming fourth session of the special commission, as well as at the meeting of the Political Consultative Council, Bulgaria will remain committed to its position on reasonable sufficiency for the country's defense capability.

Plight of Albanian Political Refugees Described

AU1210194890 Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 12 Oct 90

["Two Albanians Will Have To Choose Again Between Bulgaria and Their Own Country"—BTA headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Oct (BTA)—Two Albanian citizens, Mr. Alfred Macai and Mr. Andrei Bongi, who were granted asylum in Bulgaria after the summer "storm of the embassies" in Tirana, were recently caught at the Yugoslav-Austrian border without valid immigration papers, the Bulgarian Consulate in Belgrade reports. They will have to choose again between Albania and Bulgaria.

In the summer, five Albanians opted for asylum in Bulgaria. Some wanted to study in Bulgaria and others to leave for the West. However, none of the Western countries, approached by the Bulgarian Red Cross, granted them the requisite entry clearance. The impatient Albanians crossed the border illegally and went to Belgrade. The UN high commissioner for refugees

turned down their refugee status applications. They went back to Bulgaria because their choice was limited to it and their home country.

Western countries were approached again but none considered their problem favorably. Mr. Macai and Mr. Bongi again left Bulgaria illegally and were detained at the Yugoslav-Austrian border. The Yugoslav authorities held them in prison for five days.

They seem trapped in a vicious circle: once again they will have to choose between Albania, from which they defected, and Bulgaria, the country which granted them asylum.

Unregistered Organization Opposes Policy on Iraq

AU1210140390 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 4 Oct 90 p 1

[Aleksandur Nikolov report: "Unregistered Organization Prepares Anti-Presidential Booklet"]

[Text] The unregistered "Bulgarian Committee on Contact With International Anti-Imperialist Movement" tried on 3 October to publish a booklet in 10,000 copies, in which the Bulgarian people are called upon to refrain from supporting the actions against Iraq. A DEMOKRATSIYA reporter immediately went to the SOFIA PRESS AGENCY printing plant, where the booklet was to be printed. There he was informed that the printing was stopped on the basis of written instructions from Mr. Ventsel Raychev, chairman of the agency, whose attention had been drawn to the content of the booklet by Mr. Grudi Grudev, a worker.

The printing of the booklet had been commissioned by Mr. Valter Poche, a representative of the "anti-imperialist movement..." located in Rome, who sharply protested against stopping the printing. Mr. Raychev assured DEMOKRATSIYA that he will not allow an unknown (?international) organization to use the agency's facilities in order to print booklets which could contribute to increasing social tension in the country, and which are directed against Bulgaria's policy regarding the Persian Gulf conflict.

Nationals Arrested in Greece for Illegal Trade

AU1210172290 Sofia BTA in English 1538 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Oct (BTA)—Twenty-six Bulgarian citizens have been detained in northern Greece in September and early October and have been handed over to the Prosecutor's Office, the Press Center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs announced today.

Most of them face charges of illegal trade in Bulgarian goods on the Greek markets. Other Bulgarians have been detained for working without permission, for theft, motoring offenses and as illegal aliens. A large number of Bulgarian citizens in Greece overstay their visas. Most of them work illegally.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs has called on Bulgarians to observe the laws and the customs regulations of Greece and Bulgaria. According to the new customs regulations, Bulgarian black marketeers who smuggle goods out of Bulgaria are liable not only under Greek but also under Bulgarian law.

Government To Appropriate CPCZ Party Property

Tichy Reports on Party Assets

AU1010130090 Prague CTK in English 1759 GMT 8 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 8 (CTK)—The property of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] exceeded 5,600 million korunas by April 30, 1990, that of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party 60 million, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party 56 million and the Czechoslovak People's Party 44 million korunas.

Czech State Control Minister Bohumil Tichy said at a press conference here today that a check of movable assets and financial means of the political parties, movements and social organizations covering the period from 31 October 1989 to 30 June 1990 confirmed disorder of the Communist Party in its files and nonobservance of laws and regulations. The Czech State Control Ministry has sent many reports to the Czech prosecutor as the Communist Party was not much concerned about fulfillment of the legal measure of the Federal Assembly Presidium of last May which forbids transformations of immovable assets.

Pavel Hussar, Czech state control first deputy minister, stated that, besides its membership fees, the Communist Party was granted subsidies from the state which amounted to 5,600 million korunas in the past 20 years. There were also indirect subsidies from funds of economic organizations to defray expenditures on political schooling, conferences and the People's Militia Corps.

Mr. Hussar pointed out that after the November 1989 events the shortcomings in the Communist Party's property management have even worsened.

Party Will Not Receive Compensation

LD1110124190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] At its session held today, the Federal Government decided that the property of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will be appropriated without compensation. This will be done after the adoption of a constitutional bill; the drafts of this will be submitted to the Federal Assembly immediately. The measure will concern the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia property acquired at the expense of society before the enforcement of the legal measure of the parliament's Presidium from 18 May of this year.

The Communist Party thus will be deprived of the property which it acquired by unjust means and which—contrary to democratic principles—put it at an advantage over other political parties and movements. CTK obtained this information from the Presidium of the Federal Government office.

Demonstrators Approve Resolution

AU1110213990 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Prague, Oct 11 (AFP)—Some 50,000 people demonstrated here Thursday [11 October] afternoon on Old Town Square to urge confiscation of Communist Party property and to protest against remarks by party President Vasil Mohorita.

The demonstrators approved a resolution pressing the Federal Assembly to adopt a bill before the end of the month allowing confiscation of party assets. The government is to introduce the bill next week. The demonstrators also demanded establishment of a parliamentary committee to study the situations in the public health and environmental sectors, to be financed by using Communist Party funds.

They called for Mr. Mohorita's resignation as deputy speaker of the Federal Assembly following his statement on Sunday to the effect that "national understanding" was ending, and "a hard and stubborn fight" was beginning. He said it was necessary to urge communists in the unions to start working to exert communist influence on the labor union movement. He also urged militants to re-establish party cells within companies. Such cells were dissolved last November.

Czechoslovak news agency CTK reported that there were other large demonstrations in several other cities in the country.

Prague, Other Cities Participate

LD1210180190 Prague CTK in English 2015 GMT 11 Oct 90

["Prague: Anti-Communist Demonstrations Are Held in Czechoslovakia"—CTK headline]

[Text] Prague Oct 11 (CTK)—Total debolshevization of state power and public, political and economic life, restoration of justice and national dignity was demanded in Prague Old Town Square this afternoon by Secretary of the Confederation of Political Prisoners Miroslav Delejsi during an anti-communist demonstration attended by several tens of thousands of citizens.

In harmony with internationally recognized legal norms the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia can be described as a criminal organization, he said.

The demonstration was held in response to Sunday's statement made by communist leader Vasil Mohorita who said that the period of national understanding ends and a tough and uncompromising struggle begins.

The demonstrators were also addressed by Chairman of the Club of Committed Non-Party People Bohuslav Dvorak who pointed out that the public does not know today who is a member of the Communist Party.

Chairman of the Prague Greens Party organization Milos Kulhavy called for punishment of the Communist Party for the crimes committed in the period from 1946 to 1989, confiscation of the illegally gained property and prosecution of prominent personalities of the former regime.

Federal Assembly (parliament) deputy Bohuslav Hubalek told participants in the rally that he suggested that activities of the Communist Party be banned immediately.

Shortly before the end of the demonstration its participants were informed that the Federal Government approved today a draft bill on expropriation of communist property.

Thousands of people demonstrated also in Brno, South Moravia, and Karlovy Vary, West Bohemia.

Civic Forum Assembly Elects New Chairman

LD1410053490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Vaclav Klaus was elected Civic Forum [OF] chairman in a secret ballot held at the OF Assembly in Prague today.

The newly elected chairman assured the Assembly that he will cooperate with the whole OF, as well as other institutions and political forces in the country.

The deliberation of the OF Assembly was marked, much stronger than at previous meetings, by a considerable degree of differentiation, differences, and indeed by tension between both its factions: the traditional centralist wing and the group of the democratic right, which is growing in strength.

Kucera Comments on Communist Leader Appeal

AU1110144790 Prague CTK in English 2102 GMT 9 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 9 (CTK)—The leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which has been for 10 months repeating that it is building a new, democratic party not burdened by the past, announced through its first secretary that the period of reconciliation and understanding ends, Petr Kucera, Civic Forum Coordinating Center representative said on Czechoslovak Television tonight.

Referring to Vasil Mohorita's statement made at a session of the party Central Committee on Sunday, Petr Kucera said that the Communist Party has neither departed from Stalinism in that party's past nor in its present. "We have a clear answer to the appeal made in the speech by Mr. Mohorita: We will not allow a return to the totalitarian regime," Petr Kucera stressed.

Civic Forum Seen as 'Grave-Digger' of Reforms

AU1010105790 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 5 Oct 90 p 1

[Karel Kriz commentary: "Too Old a Toddler"]

[Text] For more than a week, shops and service outlets have been threatening to go on strike. Some of them are on strike already. I have been following this comedy—and I must say this openly—with the growing feeling that it is the umpteenth repeat. Yet, as far as the specific subject of the dispute is concerned, it actually is a world premiere. The shop assistants and service workers evidently know, or should know, that truth and justice are not on their side. In spite of that, they do what they do and I claim that it is no coincidence that they do so here and now.

Society instinctively feels what the situation is like and parts of it are therefore on strike. I do not claim that our people are so bad; they simply **must** use blackmail and strike. The current policy of our neighbors in Hungary, Poland, and Austria also fits into this—their policy toward Czechoslovakia has been evidently changing in the last few weeks. This has made itself felt during various negotiations, but also in the press and in other areas. They are testing us and I have to admit that, slowly but surely, they are beginning to be successful. I do not claim that they are bad, that they are set upon this policy—they simply **must.**

Are the stereotypes of Czech (or, rather, Benes-style) politics making themselves felt here, dressed in modern garb? I do not think so. I believe that the fault lies with too old a toddler called Civic Forum. This structure evidently blocs the natural political development. The movement whose assignment is to push through fundamental reforms is becoming their grave digger, including [reforms] on questions of the state's setup.

The Civic Forum "associates" political personalities who differ so abysmally in their perception of the world and human affairs that it is often almost comical to watch the "cooperation" within the framework of the victorious movement. There is perhaps not a single problem over which no sharp dispute develops. Recently one has even been openly vying before amazed spectators (voters) for their favor. This is manifested also in the present situation when, even after the adoption of the government decision on auctions [of shops], some responsible [Civic Forum] officials continue to egg on our dear greengrocers to persevere in their efforts. Or is it not the case that it is precisely members and entire structures of the Civic Forum that are on strike? Yes, one strikes because Civic Forum groups strike. This conflict has been born of the Civic Forum and this movement will beget yet other, more serious, conflicts because in the present stage it is good only as a playground for the assertion of group interests.

In a recent [LIDOVE NOVINY] article, entitled "Nothing New Under the Sun," Michal Kubalek compared the

present political situation with the dawn of the first republic. I cannot agree with him. In contrast to the then naturally developing political structure (although the time could also require some kind of a united "front"), we now witness a "planned" distortion of natural political development in the name of some dubious and nonexistent "unity." Where are our political parties? Is it a coincidence, for example, that [the prewar social democratic politician Vlastimil] Tuzar's party was so different from the populist (as the present dispute has shown) ruin, lacking in concepts, which calls itself social democracy? The Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement won the democratic elections. Victorious parties are usually expected to deliver what they promised. In our case this means leading our country **energetically** in the direction of a prosperous system because only such a system can guarantee a stable democracy.

Palous Reacts to Meciar's Criticism of OF

AU1010153490 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Oct 90 p 2

[Branislav Janik report: "Civic Forum and Public Against Violence Movement: We Must Reinforce Our Unity"]

[Text] Prague—In his regular television address [30 September] the Slovak premier said that it is bad that the Civic Forum [OF] leadership does not collectively face up to some radical standpoints which occur within the movement because this calls into question its position and raises the question of who makes up the OF, where its center lies, and what its mission is. We asked Martin Palous, representative of the OF Coordinating Center and perhaps the clearest candidate for the post of the OF chairman, about his opinion:

"I agree with Mr. Meciar in that contradictory views can really often be heard within our movement. Some OF deputies gave their backing to the call for Marian Calfa's resignation, even though the OF leadership fully supports the Federal Government and the coalition with the Public Against Violence movement [VPN]. We are in favor of settling misunderstandings, if they arise, by means of negotiations. The clarity of the VPN's positions is evident, while we have certain problems articulating our sometimes chaotic movement and creating out of it a comprehensible formation, such as exists in Slovakia. We want to let ourselves be inspired by the VPN in many ways. We must, of course, consider the fact that our conditions are different—the political spectrum around us, for example, greatly differs from that around the VPN. We want to communicate and negotiate with the VPN within the framework of clear rules of coalition cooperation. I hope that the OF Assembly on 13 October will play an important role in this."

Political Party Assembly Cited on Mohorita Remark

LD1010213790 Prague CTK in English 1427 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 10 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party will not be admitted to the Assembly of Czechoslovak Political Parties, Movements and Associations.

This ensues from a letter sent to Czechoslovak Communist Party First Secretary Vasil Mohorita by Chairman of the Assembly Zdenek Zahorsky.

He wrote that the Assembly was surprised at the statements in which the Communist Party dissociates itself from the policy of national understanding and declares a hard and uncompromising struggle. The Assembly representatives said they feel obliged to protect their platform against tendencies which openly or secretly aim at changing its basic political goals.

When adhering to these positions it is impossible for you to fulfill the objectives of the Assembly which protects democracy against any manifestations of totalitarianism, Mr. Zahorsky wrote.

The Assembly is a platform of various political forces ranging from the left-wing to the right-wing trends. Its main principle is a broad plurality of views based on the philosophy of national understanding.

Chairman Svoboda Rejects Mohorita Remarks

LD1410151390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1200 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] The proceedings of the first congress of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia are continuing into their second day in Olomouc today.

Yesterday evening the newly elected party chairman, film director Jiri Svoboda, gave a news conference. He described Vasil Mohorita's comment [that national understanding has ended] as unfortunate, pointing out that it had been construed as a statement of political intent, which was not the case. In this context, he went on to stress that he believed in the continuation of national understanding adding that he wanted to work together with all people of goodwill.

At the congress, Jiri Svoboda pointed out quite emphatically that he wanted to surround himself with people of a different type than the officials so far.

Prague Local Election Coalition Established

AU1110141290 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 8 Oct 90 p 8

[CTK report in the "Chronicle" column]

[Text] Municipal organs from the Christian Democratic Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, the National Social Party, the Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen, the

Republican Union-Free Block, the Green Party, and the Prague Private Entrepreneurs Initiative have formed an election coalition—called the Prague Democratic Coalition [Prazska demokraticka koalice]—for the November elections to representative bodies in the capital.

Democratic Right Parliamentary Club Formed

LD1110110790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0300 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] An Interparliamentary Club of the Democratic Right [meziparlamentarni klub demokraticke pravice], consisting of Civic Forum deputies, has been set up in the Federal Assembly. According to Deputy Daniel Kroupa, the club is an expression of the continuing differentiation of views in the framework of Civic Forum and its main aim is to support the radical economic reform proposed by Vaclav Klaus, minister of finance. The second main aim concerns the federative arrangement of the state. We do not agree with the idea that only strong republics create a strong federation: We believe that strong republics do not need any federation at all and that the the only competent organ vested with powers is the Federal Assembly elected in this country, and thus having the voters' mandate to make decisions on powers and on the new constitution, Kroupa said.

National Social Party Associated With 1948 Party

AU1110144190 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 8 Oct 90 p 8

[CTK report in the "Chronicle" column]

[Text] The interim National Social Party Executive Committee has unequivocally declared its factual, ideological, and property owning continuity with the pre-February 1948 Czechoslovak National Socialist Party regardless of the existence of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS]. In a statement on relations with the CSS, the National Social Party declares that any speculation about mutual cooperation is groundless.

People's Party Central Committee Meets 13 Oct

LD1310205990 Prague CTK in English 1639 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 13 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee had a session here today which said that the party will support the creation of a Christian Democratic Union Council.

The People's Party will be conservative and right-oriented as a counterbalance to the left wing.

Participants in the session confirmed the necessity to understand the connections of internal polarization of the Civic Forum. They recognized the authority of the president of the republic but pointed out that he should be consistently above any party lines.

They said that communal elections in November will be a matter of individual regions.

Voices 'Concern' Over Situation

LD1410213290 Prague CTK in English 1617 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 14 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee voiced concern over the current situation in Czechoslolvakia in a statement handed over to CTK today.

"An anonymous mass of former communists who in the past 40 years participated in the deformation of political and economic development of the country apply today ever more their decisive share in the economic and state functions... an especially dangerous situation is in the armed bodies, above all the security apparatus, e.g. the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy works without any parliamentary control," the statement said.

Political bodies should quickly solve the situation which could turn into political destabilization, the statement said.

Cooperative Union Ends Prague Congress

LD1310215590 Prague CTK in English 1525 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 13 (CTK)—The two-day congress of the Central Council of Cooperatives ended here today by the approval of its rules. The new name of the organization is now the Cooperative Union of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. Ota Karen was elected chairman, Vladimir Kacka deputy chairman.

The new concept, position and activities of the organization ensue from democratic principles which correspond with the concept of cooperative organizations in advanced countries with a democratic system and a market economy.

A Czech and a Slovak section will be created in the framework of the presidium of the Cooperative Union.

Vaclav Havel at Education Office Opening

LD1310230790 Prague CTK in English 1753 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Brno, South Moravia, Oct 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel attended today the opening of an office of the Czechoslovak Jan Hus (John Huss) Educational Foundation based here which is the sister organization of the original British John Huss Foundation created in Oxford in 1980.

The mission of the foundation is all-round support for education and independent autonomous culture in Czechoslovakia.

Klaus on Conditions of Management in 1991

AU1010114790 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 5 Oct 90 p 1

["dk"-signed report: "Rules of Management for Next Year"]

[Excerpts] "This is only the first, preliminary information which will be updated in the subsequent months," V. Klaus, federal minister of finance, stressed at yesterday's news conference on the government's session. [passage omitted]

V. Klaus was referring to a preliminary informative document for production and other organizations concerning the conditions of management in 1991. Enterprises are desperately waiting for this information. The full text of the document will be published by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in a few days and other information media, too, will naturally pay considerable attention to it. The material contains data on financial and monetary policy, taxes, the liberalization of prices, the koruna's convertibility, the liberalization of foreign trade, as well as wage and employment policy. The basic rate of tax on profits will be only 55 percent, compared with 55 plus 10 percent this year. No one can count on any tax relief. The turnover tax, the rate of which ranges from minus 291 percent to plus 83 percent at present, will be streamlined into only four rates: 0, 12, 22, and 32 percent of the retail price. Wages will be regulated in the first half of the year, with the exception of private and privatized enterprises. When an enterprise exceeds a certain (yet undecided) percentage of wage growth rate, a higher tax will be levied on it. [passage omitted]

The journalists were also told that the founding of 470 enterprises with a foreign ownership stake was approved between 1 May and 30 September this year. Other joint ventures are the subject of intensive negotiations.

Confidence in Political, State Bodies Declines

AU1010140290 Prague CTK in English 1357 GMT 8 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 8 (CTK)—Confidence of Czechoslovak public in the chief political institutions and movements and state bodies has decreased, according to an analysis carried out here by the Association for Independent Social Analysis (AISA).

At a press conference held here today AISA representatives said that 29 percent of respondents in the Czech Republic, 32 percent in Moravia and 43 percent in Slovakia said that only people holding power changed after the November events in the country. According to the survey of 2,244 people the so-called big policy is not interconnected with the solution of local problems in the Czech Republic. AISA research also documented that the Civic Forum has not managed to involve people in local political life. On the contrary, activities of other political groupings, above all the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, are growing.

According to the poll 30 percent of respondents in the Czech Republic and 17 percent in Moravia would vote for the Civic Forum in the autumn elections, one percent in the Czech Republic and 25 in Moravia for the Movement for Autonomous Democracy, six percent in the Czech Republic and the same number in Moravia for the Communist Party. Some 16 percent of respondents in Slovakia support the Slovak National Party, 14 percent the Christian Democratic Movement, 13 percent the Public Against Violence and nine percent the Slovak Communist Party.

A total of 28 percent of people in the Czech Republic and in Moravia and 30 percent in Slovakia described the sphere of shops, services, housing, and transport as the biggest local problems.

Labor, Strike Bills Approved, Land Issue Debated

LD1210003390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Report by Vaclav Klement]

[Excerpt] At this moment the government is still in session. Its agenda includes 11 bills put forward by the Federal Government. Among the first it discussed were the amended labor code and the bill on collective bargaining and strikes. After comments, the government approved these bills. It also approved a request by trade unions for both these bills to be discussed in the tripartite Council for Social Accord. Two additional documents up for discussion deal with property rights in regard to land, and agricultural production carried out by private farmers. On the former, Bohumil Kubat, the minister of agriculture and food, has this to say:

[Begin Kubat recording] Under this law, land confiscated on the enforced donation basis will be returned. Farmers and peasants are afraid most of all that this donation will not be taken into account. Thus, it says here in the clause that enforced donation in the period from 25 February 1948 to 31 December 1989 will be taken into account and returned. Of course, there is a whole section explaining precisely how this will be evaluated in financial terms. Where it will not be possible to return property, then it will be in some way nullified or arranged in some other way. [end recording]

The second bill proceeds from the need to give private farmers the same conditions as businessmen so that they can buy for wholesale prices and so that live and dead stock [zivy i mrtvy inventar] is returned to them or replaced. [passage omitted]

Petrochemical Enterprises on Strike Alert

AU1110134990 Prague CTK in English 1727 GMT 9 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 9 (CTK)—Five big Czechoslovak petrochemical enterprises declared striking emergency today, officials from the Press Department of the Czechoslovak Confederation of Trade Unions told CTK.

The government has not reacted to individual points of the stand adopted by the presidium of the Federal Chemical Trade Union on 5 October 1990 on government measures concerning oil products supplies for the population. The confederation stresses that in the preparation of such a significant decision concerning the majority of Czechoslovak people the government should also invite trade union representatives for consultations. By its procedure the government jeopardizes the internal market with oil products, aggravates the state's relations with foreign countries and contributes to internal tension, the statement says, referring to last week's decision on gasoline rationing and reduction of petrochemical production.

Legislative Council Discusses Budget Means

LD1110095590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0300 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] The management of budget means was the main topic on the agenda of a session of the Federal Government Legislative Council held yesterday. This issue is exceptionally important because the federation state budget ceases to be superior to republic state budgets, and thus it also ceases to be an instrument for the redistribution of created sources. During the debate the need to ensure consistent independence was focused on.

In its session, the Legislative Council devoted attention to the draft bill on control over dealing with some types of goods and technologies. The passing of this bill, above all the system of import of licenses, is an important condition for obtaining to technologies.

Financial Ministers on Banking Issues, Budgets

AU1010130590 Prague CTK in English 1305 GMT 8 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's financial policy for the rest of this year and in 1991, and questions of sharing powers between the federal and the national governments were on the agenda of a closed-door session of the Czechoslovak Financial Council here today.

The council consists of Federal Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus, Czech Finance Minister Karel Spacek, and his Slovak colleague Michal Kovac.

Klaus told newsmen before the meeting that a reasonable solution must be found to the issue of power-sharing between the federal and the national governments. Referring to banking questions, Klaus said he regarded the forming of two banks of issue in Czechoslovakia as absolute nonsense. Minister Kovac had a different opinion. He said the Slovak side intended putting forward a compromise proposal, suggesting three federal banks, one for the needs of the federation, and the other two for the needs of each of the two republics. Kovac said he hoped that a compromise solution would be found.

Vaclav Klaus said that today's talks of the Financial Council of Czechoslovakia unveiled certain alarming trends in the revenues and expenditures of the 1990 state budget which envisages a surplus of 5,400 million korunas. He further said that the situation is complicated especially in the past two to three months which is mainly due to the problems around oil. Price rises for consumers (in July by 50 percent, as from October 6 by another 33 percent over a limit of 25 liters) do bring money to the state treasury, but the purchases of oil outside the USSR (whose supplies have been dwindling in contravention of contracts) require massive spending.

In the remaining months of the year, a tougher restrictive policy will be followed, e.g., financial, credit-based and other assistance for cooperative and individual housing construction has been suspended.

The Financial Council also discussed the principles of the 1991 financial policy and the first outlines of the state budget for next year which is being drafted for the first time without the existence of the state plan.

Vaclav Klaus said that all the three finance ministers favor continuation of the restrictive financial policy. It is our wish, the minister said, that the state budget start with a three-percent surplus and that it keep a three-percent reserve for unpredictable occurrences of which there will certainly be quite a lot.

Banknotes With Gottwald Portrait Withdrawn

AU1110134690 Prague CTK in English 1959 GMT 9 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 9 (CTK)—The State Bank of Czechoslovakia approved today a decree on withdrawing from circulation 100-koruna banknotes with a portrait of Klement Gottwald (leading Communist Party official and president in 1948-53).

The banknotes cease to be valid on 31 December 1990. These banknotes will be changed in the first half of next year in all banks, savings banks, and post-offices, in the second half in banks and savings banks and from 1 January 1992 only in the State Bank of Czechoslovakia.

The bank management also decided to issue ten-koruna coins with a portrait of Czechoslovakia's First President Tomas Garrigue Masaryk as from 23 October 1990 and a memorial silver 50-koruna coin on the occasion of the first anniversary of the sanctification of Agnes of Bohemia on 15 October 1990.

Koruna Exchange Rate 'Adjusted to Market Level'

AU1210095690 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 9 Oct 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Tourist Exchange Rate; Upper Limit on Sale of Foreign Exchange to Citizens in 1991 Raised to 5,000 Korunas"]

[Excerpts] The Czechoslovak State Bank announced new market exchange rates of the koruna for the population. The new exchange rates, which match the rates of exchange of major Vienna banks, go into force today. The German mark is becoming about 2 korunas dearer (20.60 korunas instead of 18.62), the British pound almost 5 korunas dearer (60.43 korunas instead of 54.64), and the Italian lira, too, has made a similar jump (27.50 korunas for 1,000 lira instead of 24.87). The exchange rates of all other currencies have changed to a lesser degree. Simultaneously with adjusting tourist exchange rates to the market level, the bank has reduced the margin between the selling and buying tourist exchange rate. This reduces further the scope for black market currency dealers. [table omitted listing the new selling and buying rates for all major currencies]

The Czechoslovak State Bank announced at the same time that it is increasing the upper limit on the sale of freely convertible currencies to Czechoslovak citizens for tourist purposes from this year's 2,000 korunas to 5,000 korunas in 1991. Citizens who have not exhausted their limit for this year may do so by the end of the year or they may transfer their claim and purchase foreign exchange worth up to 7,000 korunas next year.

Defense Minister Vacek Interviewed in Slovakia

AU1010170190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 3 Oct 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Army General Miroslav Vacek, CSFR minister of defense, by NARODNA OBRODA correspondent Anton Fillo in Bratislava, on 2 October: "The Army of These Days"]

[Text] [Fillo] During the Monday [1 October] session of the Federal Assembly, several deputies raised criticism and interpellated you over the slow democratization process in the Army and the inconsistent testing of career soldiers for competence. What is your opinion on this criticism?

[Vacek] The Army has a specific mission and there is a possibility of its strength being misused. This is why I understand the interest which honest citizens and parliamentary deputies take in the Army. In a parliamentary democracy deputies have the right to ask about all kinds of things. Even earlier I provided members of the Federal Assembly's Defense and Security Affairs Committees with special passes allowing them to visit any Army unit or installation without the knowledge of the Army command so that they can see with their own eyes how members of Army units live.

The competence checks were attended by representatives of the Military Revival Association, who had the right to give their opinion on every officer subjected to testing. I even gave this opportunity to many rank-and-file citizens, members of political parties and movements, and also conscripts. I have, therefore, despite some interpellations in parliament, no intention of cancelling the results of the competence tests carried out so far. I am ready, however, to consider exceptions in individual cases. All competence tests must be completed by the end of this year.

[Fillo] The beginning of October is the time when new conscripts take up their military service. How many of them have refused to take up their military duties?

[Vacek] I am pleased that this is only a small percentage. We do not have the final data yet, but of the 20,000 conscripts in Slovakia, for example, only 150 applied for alternative civilian service. We are afraid, however, that the final figure will be higher because the law on alternative service makes it possible to opt for civilian service even during the course of basic military training. This is disadvantageous for the Army because it spends a considerable amount—both financially and materially—on the training of each individual. This is also why a new draft law is being prepared, on the initiative of some deputies, under which every young man would be entitled to refuse to perform military service, but, once he has made his decision, he would not be allowed to change it. I am also in favor of special commissions being established, as is the case in some Western countries, to consider why people who leave the Army do so. All commanders have been instructed to act with pedagogical tact and sensitivity in this initial period of military service to alleviate the negative impact of the transition from civilian to military life and ensure a smooth adaptation process for fresh recruits.

[Fillo] The number of soldiers is to be reduced to 140,000 men. About 35 percent of this number are to be deployed in Slovakia, which is incomparably more than is the case at present. What, in fact, are the ideas of the Ministry of Defense concerning the redeployment of some units to Slovakia?

[Vacek] Our Army will be redeployed in accordance with our new defense doctrine with the aim of safeguarding the defense of our entire homeland evenly. On no account will we demand new facilities from the civilian sector, with the exception of apartments for career soldiers. Our units will take over barracks which have been abandoned by Soviet troops departing for the Soviet Union. It is definitely not the aim [of the redeployment] to reinforce the southern border against Hungary in retaliation against the Hungarian Army's redeployment. I met the Hungarian minister of defense in Bratislava a few days ago and we agreed on abolishing one common exercise as well as on coordinating our cooperation.

[Fillo] Our public has been electrified by the announcement a few days ago of the intention to send 170 members of our Army to Saudi Arabia, to the crisis region of the Persian Gulf. How is this unit being prepared?

[Vacek] It needs to be said that Saudi Arabia has not yet requested this assistance. Anyway, the Federal Assembly must have the final say on this. This unit is being prepared at five different locations. All its members are volunteers—half of them are career soldiers and half of them are conscripts. They have 50 vehicles and 200 tonnes of material at their disposal. The problem is how to transport all this to the Persian Gulf. It represents the cargo of five intercontinental aircraft of the Galaxy type. The unit concerned is a an antichemical unit made up of three subunits. It has its own field hospital with the capacity to treat 200 people with gunshot wounds every 24 hours. The question of the deployment of this unit in the crisis region and the question of its command have not yet been resolved.

New Czechoslovak Army Generals Appointed

AU1110142990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 Oct 90 p 1

["(WA)" and "(AF)"-signed report: "Restoring the Army's Honor"]

[Text] Prague—Czechoslovak Army generals were appointed yesterday in accordance with suggestions made by the Federal Government and following an order issued by President Vaclav Havel.

Army General M. Vacek, CSFR defense minister, delivered a short speech during a ceremonial assembly in the Great Hall of the Federal Ministry of Defense. He highlighted the bravery of those who took part in the struggle for freedom on home and foreign fronts during World War II. The following officers were promoted to the rank of major general: Colonel P. Krajcovic, Colonel L. Jura, and Colonel M. Horsky. Reserve Colonel J. Nemec, who is chairman of the Military Revival Association, and A. Rasek, who is deputy defense minister with responsibility for education and culture, were also promoted to the rank of major general. Retired Colonel J. Bursik, who is a Hero of the Soviet Union, was also promoted to the rank of major general; as a participant in the struggle for the Western front, he sought refuge in Great Britain. Jaroslav Solc and Alexander Korda were promoted to the rank of major general in memoriam. Their promotion papers were accepted by their wives—the writer Hana Ponicka and Helena Kordova.

Local Elections Campaign To Start 30 Oct

LD1110180890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] It has been learned from today's meeting of the Czech Electoral Commission in Prague that the election campaign in state media will begin on 30 October. According to the law on elections, all parties participating in the election have equal access to local media. According to the Czech Statistical Office, there will be 600 parties participating. The access of political parties and movements to the state media will be ensured through regional and republican roundtable discussions on radio and television.

Moravian National Party Registered 28 Sep

AU1110141190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 4 Oct 90 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "Minutes of the Day" column]

[Text] The Moravian National Party [Moravska narodni strana] was registered at the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic on 28 September, as the party's secretariat informed CTK yesterday.

Prosecution Opened Against Former Minister

LD1210170590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Criminal proceeding have been opened against Jaroslav Prokopec, former Czech minister of health and social affairs, based on justified suspicion of abuse of authority by a public official.

The Czech General Prosecutor Office announcement shows that the extent of suspicion is considerable. The investigation will be complicated and will demand a great deal of evidence.

Maximum attention has been paid to the clarification of all aspects of the criminal activity of Jaroslav Prokopec, including unwaranted use of financial funds under advantageous terms which had been assigned for treatment of children in Yugoslavia.

Czechs Form Foreign Relations Committee

LD1210135890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Effective 15 October, the Czech Government has established a government committee for international relations headed by Prime Minister Petr Pithart. The formation of this committee is one of the results of the meeting of all three governments in Trencianske Teplice. It represents an advisory and review body of the Czech Government, which will coordinate the work of individual central agencies of the state administration of the Czech Republic in relation to foreign countries—especially in the economy, trade, culture, science, education, health care and, last but not least, also in contacts with fellow countrymen.

Czech Economic Policy Minister on Oil Crisis

AU1010131890 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 6 Oct 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Karel Dyba, Czech minister for economic policy and development, by Zdenek John; place and date not given: "Allusions to Oil Uncertainty"—opening paragraph is MLADA FRONTA DNES introduction]

[Text] Karel Dyba, Czech minister for economic policy and development, submitted an important paper to the Czech Government on Wednesday [3 October]. It contains a stabilizing program for the economy until the end of the year. In this connection, mention was also made of a possible "catastrophe" variant. On the same day—on Wednesday—the gasoline panic began.

[John] Mr. Minister, could you familiarize us a little with this catastrophe variant?

[Dyba] To put it plainly, I would not like to talk about any kind of catastrophe, because this word is too severe for the nature of our current economic development. This is a specific journalistic exaggeration. However, the fact is that if war were to break out in the Persian Gulf, it could quite easily happen that oil will cost $60 per barrel. Some people are even saying that it could cost $100 per barrel. The cardinal question would then be, How long can this price be maintained? This would be a difficult situation for any economy, not just for ours which is at a transitional stage. Of course, there would then have to be a voucher system for gasoline sales. Rationing would be introduced curtailing the supply of certain products and increasing inflationary development.

[John] Have you worked out the above-mentioned variant in such detail that it is now possible to tell what the reaction will be to oil prices, for example, of $50, $80, or even $100?

[Dyba] So far, we have not drafted such a detailed policy, but there is certain speculation here. However, I would mainly like to stress that we should in no way dramatize this situation. There is no writing on the wall; simply, such a situation may arise and we should be prepared for it. I think we should mainly be psychologically prepared. I personally am of the opinion that there is still a chance that the situation in the Persian Gulf may be resolved by other than military means.

[John] You think, then, that the recent gasoline panic should not be regarded as the start of a catastrophic development?

[Dyba] In no way.

[John] Our economy has recently had the opportunity to become more or less used to the irregularity of Soviet oil supplies. Can you explain why the gasoline chaos has happened during exactly the same period?

[Dyba] The truth is that the method of oil supplies from the Soviet Union has greatly complicated our lives, but we have overcome this so far. I cannot tell you who is directly to blame for this panic, that is perhaps impossible. The alarming reports possibly spread in connection with the fact that there has been a considerable unsteadiness in oil supplies. However, the latest reports indicate that the situation is now relatively better. At a time of general uncertainty, it only takes a very small and weak suggestion for things to quickly get into an unpleasant motion. A slip of the tongue or a poor interpretation of certain data is enough.

[John] Obviously, we will continue to buy more and more oil at world prices and from January we will buy absolutely everything at these prices. Do you think that this price training will come in handy in the new year, or are we already over the worst?

[Dyba] What is now happening in our country in connection with gasoline and oil products may, in essence, be understood as a step toward the liberalization of prices. It cannot be said whether this is a sufficient or only a partial step. It depends on the development in world oil prices. Today no one can estimate its price in a couple of months from now.

[John] In surrounding states—for example, in Austria, Germany, or the Netherlands—gasoline prices have increased slowly but surely since the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. Why are we undergoing more of a shock therapy in our country with prices shooting up only twice, but by a considerable amount?

[Dyba] Look, we are still experiencing the effects of the former system when we did not pay for oil in hard currency and at world prices. The transition to a market method will be painful, it would even be painful under normal circumstances; development in world oil prices is still gathering pace. Therefore, the gasoline price increases seem like shock therapy. The consumer, as well as the manufacturer, will have to dig deeper into his pockets. This is the reality for which the present government cannot be blamed. If we want a promising market economy, we have no other choice. We have to accept the rules according to which the game is played on world markets.

[John] Increased oil prices will not only be projected in gasoline. What about other products?

[Dyba] You are right, but there are also certain ways of restricting the manufacturers' attempts to transfer the burden of increased costs onto the customer. I do not think the domestic market will feel the oil price fluctuation as much as the primary industries. Many things can be absorbed on the way from the purchase of oil to the sale of a finished product.

[John] Do you think oil represents a serious danger for the course of economic reform in Czechoslovakia?

[Dyba] I would like to underline that, in this regard, reform has no connection with oil. The kind of development we are now seeing on world oil markets would have happened without our reforms and would certainly have had an effect in our country even if we were not undergoing reform. Therefore, it is necessary to make a distinction between what is being caused by reform and what is being caused by oil development. How we deal with the period following the complete transition to world prices will be vital.

National Congress Holds Slovak Assembly

AU1110085390 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 Oct 90 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Emphatic Congress"]

[Text] The first Slovak Assembly of the Czechoslovak National Congress (CSNK) took place in Bratislava on Saturday [6 October]. The CSNK advocates a federal arrangement for the CSFR, supports the CSFR's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, and wants to acquire internationally guaranteed neutrality status. One of the policy goals of this party is to seek abolition of compulsory military service and minimization of the professional army. The CSNK demands that former members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, and the secretaries of Regional and District Committees of this party account before the law for the economic and moral devastation of the CSFR. According to the CSNK members, a liberal economic model should be implemented and a millionaires tax should be imposed on properties accumulated after 1948.

Slovakia, Federation Differ on Constitution

AU1010171790 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Alena Melicharkova report: "A Law for Kosice; From Deliberations of the Slovak National Council"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—The course of yesterday's sixth session of the Slovak National Council went unusually smoothly. Even before lunch the deputies managed to discuss and approve two draft laws. [passage omitted]

The Slovak National Council law on the city of Kosice is based upon the law on communities, under which the legal status, territorial arrangement, and structure of self-governing bodies in cities with more than 200,000 inhabitants are to be regulated by a special law. [passage omitted]

The other draft law of the Slovak National Council concerns the jurisdiction of Slovak Republic Government bodies in implementing the law on the arrangement of some relations of monastic orders and congregations. [passage omitted]

Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, provided information on the meeting of the Czech National Council and Slovak National Council Presidiums at Svratka nad Sazavou. The basic issues under discussion were the declaration of the Charter of Human Rights and the points of departure of the concepts of the new constitutions. There are certain differences between federal and republican ideas on the adoption of the Charter of Human Rights. Representatives of the Federal Assembly uphold the idea that the charter would be adopted only by the Federal Assembly and enshrined in the Federal Constitution. However, the charter is a document that will determine further developments in various spheres and it should therefore be enshrined in the Constitution of the Slovak Republic as well.

The prevailing opinion within the Slovak National Council Presidium is that the constitutions of the republics should be drafted first and that the Federal Constitution should then be derived from them. The representatives of republican parliaments agreed that the constitutions of the republics must enshrine the right to secede from the federation. [passage omitted]

Press Views Bratislava Nationalist Demonstration

AU1010151290 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 8 Oct 90 pp 1, 8

["chk"-signed report: "Tedious Massage of Nationalism"]

[Text] The Slovak National Heritage Foundation [Matica Slovenska] invited "everyone who is not indifferent to the fate of his own nation" to a nationwide rally in support of the enactment of the Slovak language on Friday in the late afternoon. The organizers did not rely on the interest of Bratislava residents alone and bussed in additional participants from the districts, mostly from those with an ethnically mixed population.

The Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava has not experienced so much speech-making for a long time. The stage-managers evidently forgot the tried-and-tested dictum that less is sometimes more. The rhetorical massage of the national feelings of the assembled crowd was so tedious that some participants lacking in the appropriate internal patriotic fervor began to freeze after two hours and, after the speech of Jozef Markus, chairman of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation Committee, started to leave—without waiting for the highlight in the form of [Slovak National Party Chairman] Vitazoslav Moric.

J. Markus said, among other things, that doubts are being cast on the existence of a sovereign Slovak nation, which, according to some, is not responsible for itself. The speaker went on to say that "we ourselves are our greatest enemy," by which he was alluding to the conciliatory, tolerant, and submissive Slovak nature. In his words, the Slovaks do not seek self-isolation but at the

same time they reject the accentuation of the transnational element in the current European processes at the cost of the national element. The most important and specific message of his speech was his appeal to the Slovak National Council. He warned the Slovak National Council that if a constitutional law on the Slovak language in the form in which it is proposed by the nationally-oriented political forces and movements in Slovakia, with the Slovak National Party at their head, is not passed by the end of the third week of October, the Slovak National Heritage Foundation will launch a series of as yet unspecified protest actions.

The proposed constitutional law mentioned above provides for Slovak as the sole official language in dealings with the authorities and public life throughout the territory of the Slovak Republic without exception. It does not even allow the use of Czech as the language of the other state-forming nation, which would naturally affect the position of the Czech minority in Slovakia. The Friday rally was a demonstration against another version of the language law, which has been tabled by a group of deputies who are members of the government coalition (Public Against Violence movement, Christian Democratic Movement, and Democratic Party). This draft, too, proposes Slovak as an official language, but it provides for the equal status of Czech and for the right of citizens of the Hungarian, German, Polish, and Ukrainian (Ruthenian) ethnic minorities to use their own language in dealings with the authorities.

As always, it was Slovak National Party Chairman V. Moric who set the seal on the unadulterated nationalist atmosphere. His speech did not leave anyone in doubt that, even though the Friday rally in Bratislava was also about the language issue, the main consideration was to win votes for the Slovak National Party and other similar parties and movements in the communal elections. Even the Slovak National Heritage Foundation, which formally stresses its being above party politics, could not have anything against such a scenario. One of the highlights of V. Moric's speech was his statement that the greatest threat to Slovaks comes from the south and that the Hungarians, whom he had in mind, have their supporters not only in Prague but even in Bratislava. It goes without saying that streamers such as "Independent Slovakia," "Slovakia for Slovaks," "Enough of Prague," "Slovaks to the United Nations," and "Down with the CSFR" could not be missing above the demonstrators' heads. The crowd of many thousands of demonstrators was chanting "Long live Moric," "Long live Markus," and "Meciar is with us." Even if we take into consideration some reasonable-sounding views expressed by some speakers, the political atmosphere of the demonstration was more evocative of the 19th century than of the end of the second millennium. The only thing missing in this tedious massage of nationalism, consisting of never-ending speech-making, booing, chanting, and attempts at singing, was prayer.

[Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 8 October on page 2 carries a 500-word Miroslav Sklenka commentary on the Bratislava rally, which criticizes some "negative phenomena" which accompanied the demonstration. The author accuses some of the demonstrators of not being concerned about the language issue but of wanting to "split the CSFR and thus destroy the house which is the only guarantee of our continued national existence." Sklenka also mentions that the slogans chanted at the rally included "Slovak for Slovaks, Hebrew for Public Against Violence Devotees."]

Rally Calls For Sovereignty in Slovakia

LD1310220390 Prague CTK in English 1940 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 13 (CTK)—A rally marking the 103th birthday anniversary of Jozef Tiso (president of the Slovak state in 1939-45, executed in 1947) was held in Banovce Nad Bebravou, West Slovakia, today.

The rally, attended by several hundred people, was organized by the Movement for Independent Slovakia, the magazine SLOVENSKE OZVENY and the Club of the Slovak National Party in Banovce Nad Bebravou.

The attacks against Tiso are motivated by an effort to prevent the Slovaks from the creation of their own state, representative of foreign "Matice Slovenska" (Slovak cultural institution) Pavol Struhar said, adding that "post-war Czechoslovakia was much more fascist and totalitarian than the Slovak state."

Participants in the rally adopted a statement calling for the declaration of sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, inclusion of Slovaks in the list of UN members, enactment of Slovak as the only official language in Slovakia and revision of the trial of Jozef Tiso.

Slovak Communists Showing Signs of Polarization

AU1010171990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Peter Holka and Martin Krno report: "Differentiation Is Not a Tragedy"]

[Text] Bratislava (From our own editors)—The Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee held its seventh session yesterday at which it discussed a whole series of important documents intended for the Slovak communists' forthcoming regular congress. Unfortunately, participants in the session were given the complete 80 pages of text immediately prior to the beginning of their meeting, which had a negative influence on the long and often unconstructive discussion.

In his introductory speech, Peter Weiss, CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee chairman, analyzed the current situation in the party placing special emphasis on the district conferences. He referred to certain undemocratic tendencies and the manipulation of their course, the election of delegates to the congresses, and so on. There has been a great deal of discussion about how the party should be renewed:

Whether it should be an ideological organization or a party with characteristic political elements. He pointed out that world development indicates the demise of parties founded on ideological doctrines. We should become a political party close to the socialist pattern for the development of civilization, a party which is able to make the best of and synthesize the humane goals and values of the principle streams within the left-wing democratic workers movement. In current internal party discussions it is necessary to seek alternative solutions to the crisis situation in which we find ourselves. Only in this way can we renew trust and acquire real influence in society. P. Weiss also focussed attention on the upcoming local elections which present an opportunity to formulate bases for a left-wing coalition.

In a discussion about the congress documents, members of the CPSL Central Committee—as well as the invited district organization chairmen and Communist Federal Assembly and Slovak National Council deputies—paid most attention to the draft CPSL organizational arrangement and especially to the method for constituting umbrella representative organs in Slovakia. They stressed the necessity of strengthening the national character and independence of the CPSL within the framework of the Federation of CSFR Communist Parties which is being prepared. There were many contradictory views about the document drafted by a commission of CPSL Central Committee historians which reveals chapters from the history of the communist movement which were taboo subjects until recently; they finally decided in a vote that the document will be published in PRAVDA in the very near future along with other congress materials.

Different opinions about the party's unity, ideological identity, capability for action, and fundamental values were manifested in full during a general debate. For example, Pavol Ferianc cast doubts upon the possibility of a compromise between the CPSL Platform for Socialist Orientation and the Platform for Communist Renewal. This view was supported by Jozef Kiss and Milan Ftacnik among others. Contrary to this, Vasil Mohorita—a guest at the session—appealed for mutual tolerance and for the preservation of the party of the masses, a party which will be capable of effectively defending the interests of its members and supporters. Pavol Kanis also voiced his support for one large party and expressed doubt about its capability for action if it were to contain a number of different platforms. He emphasized that this type of party has been historically vanquished, but not its human potential. He also outlined the legal problems associated with a possible change to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's name.

In his concluding speech, Peter Weiss stated that it is unnecessary to make a tragedy out of differentiation within the party and, at the same time, it is foolish to expect that the congress will definitively resolve all its problems. However, we should win society's trust as well as domestic and foreign allies on the basis of the congress results.

Trade Unions Reject Party Activity in Unions

AU1210084990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 9 Oct 90 p 2

["ca"-signed report: "Unacceptable Alternative"]

[Text] Bratislava—"We are willing to cooperate with any political party or movement, but the nonpartisan character of our work must not be compromised," the delegates of the Slovak Republic Confederation of Trade Unions Assembly emphasized at yesterday's session in Bratislava.

Thereby, they unanimously rejected the statement by Vasil Mohorita, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia chairman [title as published], at the Fifth Session of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia Central Committee, in which he appealed to the members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to become active in the trade unions and to organize Communist Party company organizations at their place of work anew. They assessed the above-mentioned statement as antitrade union politics and an attempt to break up the trade union movement and gain influence in it.

In addition, the delegates elected their representatives to the tripartite commission of the Slovak Government as proposed by the Assembly Presidium and, at the same time, they confirmed the representation to the tripartite commission at the level of the CSFR Government. Since the current chairman of the Slovak Republic Confederation of Trade Unions, Roman Kovac, was elected president of the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions, they elected Svetozar Korbel to head their organization. He will hold the post until 31 March 1991.

Meciar Seen as Real Target of 'Demikat Affair'

AU1010145490 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Oct 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "It Is Time To Tell Us the Plain Truth; The Peripeteia of a Kosice Policeman and High Politics"]

[Text] The independent weekly SLOBODNY PIATOK [Free Friday] has familiarized the Slovak public with the case of Jan Demikat, LLD, and his career in the State Security Corps [StB]. His popularity among Czech readers has been taken care of by the weekly FORUM, which has used the peripeteia of the fate of this Kosice policeman as a means for discrediting [Slovak] Premier Vladimir Meciar, whom some Prague politicians cannot stomach. Last week the "Demikat affair" acquired a new dimension when the Regional Prosecutor's Office in Kosice became involved in it.

The prosecutor summoned for questioning not only Captain Demikat but also [Slovak trade union daily]

PRACA journalist Edita Pacajova-Kardosova, who published an interview with this police officer in SLOBODNY PIATOK. In connection with the content of the published interview, she was questioned on the suspicion of assault on a public official. In the context of what Jan Demikat, LLD, revealed at his news conference in Bratislava last week, this questioning prompts several conjectures. The most important of Demikat's statements was his claim that General Andrej Samel, the deputy federal minister of interior, had been an StB agent. Yet even more serious seems to be Mrs. Pacajova-Kardosova's statement that Jan Demikat "has evidence for dozens of unvoiced claims."

The recent decision to dismiss Captain Demikat from the police corps and the interrogation of the PRACA journalist at the prosecutor's office create the impression that they are to be intimidated, that certain circles are trying to silence the two. In this situation the public cannot have confidence in the line that has been followed until now in dealing with the "Demikat case." Citizens following the goings-on in this case have the impression that it no longer involves merely the affair of one police captain. One openly speaks about the "Kosice case" and Jan Langos, the federal minister of interior, ought to instruct the Federal Ministry of Interior inspection bodies to investigate all circumstances pertaining to Demikat. It would be equally useful if deputies to the Slovak National Council questioned Anton Andras, the Slovak Republic minister of interior, who suspended Captain Demikat from the post of commander of the Public Security Corps stand-by unit in Kosice.

It is time to tell us the plain truth, if a Slovak "Sachergate" [reference to the affair of former Federal Minister of Interior Richard Sacher] with federal consequences is to be avoided. The search for truth will surely reveal which channels are used to pump information about the "Kosice case" to the Prague weekly FORUM. It could also help reveal who it is that is interested in casting doubt on the credibility of Premier Meciar. It might turn out that the instigators should be sought not only among those who regard him as "too strong a man" in the Czech-Slovak settlement at the federal level but also among coalition partners who have not become reconciled to playing only the second fiddle after the parliamentary elections.

Slovak Interior Ministry Publishes Magazine

AU1110182690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Oct 90 p 2

["(IK)"-signed report in the "Messages" column: "Expose"]

[Text] A new magazine called EXPOSE which is published by the Slovak Interior Ministry is starting to compete for readers' attention. At the moment, it will appear once a month and its chief editor is Dr. Milan Sersik. Its 32 pages will carry reports on socially burning issues, reports on crime, interviews with interesting people, as well as detective stories and interesting tidbits from the world of popular music, culture, fast cars, sports, and history. With every issue purchased, the reader is given a chance to win 1,000 korunas in a Lucky Six mini lottery.

Slovak Minister on Domestic Economic Problems

AU1010135590 Prague CTK in English 1657 GMT 8 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 8 (CTK)—Slovak Economy Minister Jozef Belcak told newsmen today that, due to the conversion of arms production which affected 29 enterprises in Slovakia, the output of the Slovak engineering industry has dropped by about 10,000 million korunas this year, which is five times as much as in the Czech Republic.

Speaking about the electrical engineering industry, he said that its market is facing disintegration as Czechoslovak production is outdated and can hardly succeed even on the home market. As to ore mining, the Slovak Economy Ministry will revise a phase-out program, the minister said. The magnesite industry has mainly ecological problems.

He described the drafting of production programs by enterprises themselves in cooperation with foreign partners as one of possible solutions. In this connection, he pointed out that an office to mediate foreign offers has been established in the Slovak Government.

Referring to problems of the Slovak car industry, Mr. Belcak said that a suitable production program has not been found in the past 15 years. The Slovak ministry wants that more Slovak enterprises be involved in this program. Talks with the General Motors and Volkswagen firms continue as well but a final decision concerning participation of one of them in Slovak car production has not yet been taken.

Kollert Returns From Iran, Explains Oil Deal

LD1310173990 Prague Television Service in Czech 2150 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] [Announcer] Jan Kollert, deputy foreign trade minister, has returned home following his six-day visit to Iran, but with what result?

[Kollert] The purpose of our talks in Iran was to galvanize mutual trade relations on the basis of conclusions reached by the mixed commission in 1989. From our point of view, our interest focused naturally on the purchase of crude oil, on the one hand, for the immediate requirements of the Czechoslovak economy, and on the other hand on the conclusion of a long term agreement with a five-year period at the minimum on the purchase of crude oil from that country.

[Announcer] How much crude oil will we purchase in the current year, and how will we pay for it?

[Kollert] In the memorandum we have signed, the Iranian side pledged itself to supply 400,000 tonnes by the end of the current year: 200,000 tonnes in the middle of November and 200,000 in the middle of December, on

the basis of the light Iranian crude which should be transportable without problem through the Adria pipeline and thereby processable in Czechoslovakia.

[Announcer] This is for the current year. Was consideration given to broader prospects? What is the outlook for instance for next year?

[Kollert] The Iranian side is willing to negotiate a long-term contract for an annual supply to Czechoslovakia of between 5 million and 10 million tonnes of crude oil, naturally provided that Czechoslovakia is capable of producing goods for export to Iran to pay for this crude oil.

[Announcer] In what kinds of goods from Czechoslovakia would Iranian businessmen be interested?

[Kollert] Iranian businessmen have traditionally showed interest in our engineering products, which is of course advantageous from our viewpoint, and above all sugar refineries, cement plants, equipment for the power industry, the construction of refinaries, petrochemical plants, as well as the traditional supplies of machine tools, textile machinery, diesel aggregates, and rubber products.

Calfa 'Optimistic' About Soviet Oil Supplies

AU1010112790 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Oct 90 p1

[Interview with CSFR Premier Marian Calfa, by MLADA FRONTA DNES correspondent Karel Hvizdala on 7 October; place not given: "Cheaper Gasoline Next Year?"—first four paragraphs are MLADA FRONTA DNES introduction]

[Text] On Wednesday [3 October] President Vaclav Havel met with both premiers [as published; there are three: Czech, Slovak and Federal] and the economic ministers at Prague Castle and officially admitted what Marian Calfa had told us last week (see the interview with Marian Calfa in the Tuesday [2 October] issue of MLADA FRONTA DNES): that there is a danger of the Czechoslovak economy collapsing because of the shortage of crude oil.

On Thursday [4 October] the premier received Soviet Ambassador Boris Pankin to request—in a situation when the Soviet Union supplies to Czechoslovakia only 20,000 to 22,000 tonnes of crude oil a day, instead of 33,000 tonnes—a reception by the highest Soviet representatives. The Czechoslovak proposal was to hold the "oil summit" on one of the days of last weekend.

Friday [5 October] afternoon CTK announced that the Soviet side was carefully studying our request. According to Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh, it is ready openly to consider any problem.

Because diplomatic language is very vague and because the Soviet side had not specified a date for the meeting by Sunday morning [7 October], we contacted Premier Marian Calfa yesterday to ask him why the meeting has not yet taken place.

[Calfa] In view of the urgency of the situation with respect to crude oil, we proposed that the meeting be held as soon as possible. The other side assured us that it wished to develop friendly relations with us, that it was thoroughly studying our request, and that it would let us know soon. I personally think that it would be unusual if such a large country—one which, moreover, is now grappling with so many grievous problems of its own—immediately accepted the first date proposed by the other side. But it is absolutely clear from the tone of their reply that they are willing to meet us and that they study our request.

[Hvizdala] Why do you think the Soviet Union has picked Czechs and Slovaks for conservation and not the Finns and East Germans?

[Calfa] I have a simple explanation for that: because we pay in transferable rubles. The Finns pay in hard currency and, as of 1 July, the same is true also of the East Germans. When Mr. Katushev was here last time, he was very frank with us. He cut deliveries for transferable rubles by one million tonnes but offered us 600,000 tonnes for hard currency. They have purely business interests. We are therefore optimists and hope to conclude contracts for next year. We certainly would not want to follow the example of Hungary, which stood up against the Soviet Union, began to buy oil via the Adria pipeline, and ended up paying 30 percent more for it. That is a lot.

[Hvizdala] Do you assume that we will be able to maintain the price of the "super" grade gasoline at 18 korunas per liter as of 1 January 1991, given that we will be importing crude oil for hard currency?

[Calfa] I must not speak too soon but certain calculations show that we might even be able to lower that price. The state will only attend to it that it gets the turnover tax, which it needs for its social policy.... But I cannot, of course, rule out that we will be forced to raise the price once again.

Foreign Trade Official on Receipt of Oil Supplies

AU1110084490 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 6 Oct 90 p 1

[Interview with Engineer Lubomir Martak, deputy minister of foreign trade, by "bau"-signed ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY correspondent; place and date not given: "How Is it With Crude Oil?"]

[Text] Recent lines at the gasoline pumps convinced us again that oil is the true blood of the national economy. This panic and the subsequent measures by the Federal Government were caused by irregular supplies of Soviet crude oil.

We asked Engineer Lubomir Martak, candidate of science, deputy minister of foreign trade, about the expectations regarding these supplies to the end of the year.

[Martak] According to the agreement with the Soviet Union, as a part of the annual contract with us, we were supposed to have received 4.1 million tonnes of crude oil in the fourth quarter. The time schedule agreed to by the

foreign trade enterprises reflects 3.15 million tonnes. The Soviet Foreign Trade Enterprise confirmed for October 807,000 tonnes of oil paid in rubles, i.e., 250,000 tonnes less. [numbers as published] All measures taken at the highest level are aimed at us not accepting this reduction and also at securing supplies for the following months. We have an agreement to receive 300,000 tonnes of oil for convertible currency, i.e., this month we should receive 1,107,000 tonnes of oil. This should be sufficient to keep the refineries going. In the following months, according to a preliminary promise, we should get 1,050,000 tonnes. In addition, a purchase has been prepared for 500,000 tonnes of crude oil directly from a drilling company Megion in Tyumen Oblast which has the Soviet Government's permission to sell its surplus oil. According to this contract, we will pay 10 percent in convertible currency and the remainder in goods. Questionable, however, is the dependability of the supplies which often show substantial daily fluctuation.

[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY] Can you comment on next year's Soviet supplies?

[Martak] The problem is that, in the framework of the economic reform in the USSR, the jurisdictions of the central government, republic governments, and enterprises are not as yet established. This, however, is true not only of oil but of all the raw material supplies from the USSR.

[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY] What is the CSFR doing to prevent a unilateral dependence on the Soviet Union for oil?

[Martak] We are dealing with other countries just as intensively as we are with the Soviet Union. I could mention, for instance, Mexico, Venezuela, and Saudi Arabia. There are, however, two big problems: How to pay for this oil without getting into debt, and how to transport this oil to the CSFR without making it too costly.

Contract Signed With Tyumen Region for Oil

LD1110232190 Prague CTK in English 2104 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 11 (CTK)—A contract on the delivery of 500,000 tons of oil to Czechoslovakia by the end of this year was signed between representatives of the Tyumen region in the Russian Republic and Czechoslovakia today.

The one-half million tons is not covered by the 1990 agreement on oil supplies between the Czechoslovak and Soviet Governments. Under this agreement, the USSR is to pump 16.6 million tons to Czechoslovakia but it has made it clear that the agreement will not be fulfilled.

On the basis of the direct talks with representatives of the Tyumen region Czechoslovakia will supply to the Soviet Union trucks, buses, loaders, bulldozers, cranes as well as consumer goods to pay for the oil.

Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Lubomir Martak said that Czechoslovakia would like to see these contacts and this trade advantageous for both sides to continue.

The Tyumen region is to deliver 60,000 tons of oil this month, 300,000 tons in November and the rest in December.

New English-Czech Business Monthly Published

AU1210090990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 9 Oct 90 p 16

[Unattributed report in the "Informer" column: "Profit International"]

[Text] The publication of a unique entrepreneur journal began on Monday, 8 October. This monthly is published by an American company of the same name. Its uniqueness is based on the fact that the bilingual texts are in English and Czech. It presents the experiences of the Central and Eastern European emigrants in business abroad. The journal, with perfect graphics, has 68 pages and a cover in color. The price is 15 korunas.

Havel Hosts Dinner for Two Polish Artists

LD1110044290 Warsaw PAP in English 2150 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Prague, Oct. 10—President Vaclav Havel entertained to a dinner Polish poet, Nobel Prize winner Czeslaw Milosz and Polish film director Andrzej Wajda here today. Milosz presented President Havel with a selection of his poetry brought out by the "Odean" Publishing House.

The meeting with President Havel ended Milosz's four-day visit to Czechoslovakia paid at the invitation of the Ministry of Culture and the Centre of Information and Polish Culture here.

Yesterday, the 79 year-old poet joined in a demonstration against the introduction of the anti-abortion law in Poland staged by the Transnational Radical Party in front of the Polish Embassy in Prague.

Polish Government Objects to Slovak Language Law

AU1210152690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Alena Melicharkova report: "Important Direct Contacts; A Slovak Republic Delegation Is Visiting Poland"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw—A delegation of the Slovak Republic Government headed by Premier Vladimir Meciar arrived for a three-day official visit to Poland yesterday. [passage omitted]

As the Slovak premier's press secretary said in the afternoon, the talks with Krzystof Skubiszewski, the Polish minister of foreign affairs, also concerned the Slovak language. In the opinion of the Polish side, its enactment as an official language is directed also against the Polish minority. Premier Meciar replied that all international agreements will be respected in drafting the law. The aim of the law is, rather, to prevent the assimilation of Slovaks. Other topics of discussion

included the return of land to Polish farmers in Dolny Kubin District and the question of the zloty's exchange rate against the koruna. [passage omitted]

Calfa Receives French Businessmen's Delegation

LD1110030590 Prague CTK in English 1640 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 10 (CTK)—French businessmen are considerably interested in the Czechoslovak market, especially in investments into joint ventures, president of the French Businessmen's Union Francois Perigot said here today.

At a meeting with Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa, M. Perigot, who heads a delegation of businessmen and bankers on a visit to Czechoslovakia, said that France was impatiently awaiting the results of economic reform in Czechoslovakia.

Marian Calfa stressed the need to develop bilateral contacts mainly in the framework of regular exchanges of experiences in informatics, banking and services.

M. Perigot discussed questions of further economic cooperation also with Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy. The two officials assessed the positive experiences in cooperation in the heavy industry, power and petrochemical industry and the tertiary sphere.

Czech Premier Pithart Departs for Italy 11 Oct

LD1110155890 Prague CTK in English 1516 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 11 (CTK)—Czech Premier Petr Pithart left here today for a five-day visit to northern Italy at the invitation of president of the autonomous province Trentino-Alto Adige Mario Malossini.

The aim of the visit, taking place in the framework of the pentagonal initiative, is the exchange of opinions from the sphere of local and regional administration, communal economy and public services. The Czechoslovak and Italian officials will also confer about the activities of small enterprises, deal with business, tourism and organization of culture at regional levels.

First Army Delegation to NATO Country Ends Visit

LD1210001190 Prague CTK in English 2113 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 11 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak Army delegation, led by Defence Minister, Army General Miroslav Vacek, returned here today from an official visit to Spain. It was the first visit of a Czechoslovak Army delegation at this level to a NATO country.

Miroslav Vacek said at a press conference held after his arrival here that his impressions from the four-day visit to Spain are good and spoke positively about the level of the Spanish Army. He said that his Spanish counterpart Narcis Serra Serra suggested that Spain and Czechoslovakia consult in the future some of their stands on Europe's security and push them through at international forums in case they are identical.

Vacek spoke of some concrete measures in future bilateral relations and said that the exchange of air attaches in January next year was confirmed during the talks in Spain. Bilateral visits of chiefs of staff should take place in 1991 as well as contacts in the sphere of military education and culture.

He highly appreciated his reception by Spanish King Juan Carlos I who cares for the development of the army and its reasonable democratization.

Favorable International Reaction to Dienstbier Plan

AU1110145590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Oct 90 p 1

["(DO)"-signed report: "Dienstbier's Plan Is Being Prepared"]

[Text] Yesterday the Federal Government entrusted the Foreign Ministry with making sure that a stabilizing plan—known as the Dienstbier Plan—is drafted in cooperation with the economic ministries. This is a plan which the Czechoslovak foreign minister put forward at Harvard University. According to this plan, the developed world should donate a sum of approximately $16 billion to the Soviet Union. Soviet enterprises should only utilize this sum to make purchases in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland.

According to a statement from L. Dobrovsky, the Foreign Ministry's press spokesman, the Soviet Union has already changed its original negative stance toward the Dienstbier proposal; Poland and Hungary have also adopted positive stances toward it. Favorable responses have been noted in political circles in Italy, Japan, and the United States.

Calfa Meets International Alliance Chairman

LD1310031890 Prague CTK in English 1825 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 12 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa received here today chairman of the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) Lars Marcus. The visit to Czechoslovakia is the last in the framework of his tour of Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA) countries.

The Czechoslovak premier said that cooperative movement has not only a tradition but also good prospects in Czechoslovakia and stressed that it must quickly adapt to the conditions of a market economy.

Lars Marcus spoke of cooperative movement in Western democracies where it is one of the guarantees of a democratic character of economic structures.

Second Round of Nationwide Local Elections Held

Voter Turnout Noted

LD1410210190 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—Up to 10.30 a.m., 11.77 per cent of the electorate turned out for the local elections in Hungary, the election office and information group of the Ministry of Home Affairs said.

The highest turnout, 14.16 per cent, was registered in Nograd County, and the lowest one, 8.47 per cent, in Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County. The relevant figure was 12.2 per cent in the capital.

Eight mayors and three local councillors will be elected under the rules of the first round.

Under the rules of the second round, mayors will be elected in 148 localities with less than 10,000 inhabitants, local councillors elected from the lists of all candidates in 139 localities with less than 10,000 inhabitants, local councillors elected in 1,707 individual constituencies, and candidates from party lists elected in 149 localities with more than 10,000 candidates.

There are 7.8 million eligible voters in Hungary and 1,521,979 in Budapest.

Record Low Turnout Noted in Runoff

AU1410205290 Paris AFP in English 1927 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, Oct 14 (AFP)—Voter turnout in the runoff of municipal elections Sunday hit a record low of less than 30 per cent Sunday, even lower than in the first round which was invalidated two weeks ago when turnout failed to reach the required 40 per cent minimum. Early returns were expected late Sunday but the final results will only be known late Monday.

In Budapest, where the mayorship is to be revived for the first time in 43 years following the ouster of the communist regime, turnout was 32.12 per cent an hour before poll booths closed, down more than two per cent over the first round.

Hungarians were called to the ballot box in 149 of Hungary's 162 towns with populations of more than 10,000 and in 150 villages out of a total of 2,930, where fewer than 40 per cent of registered voters cast ballots on September 30. There is no turnout minimum in the runoff, so candidates will be elected if they gain a majority of votes.

The national press touted the elections as the first test of the center-right government's popularity. Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's conservative administration took office last April after more than four decades of communist rule.

Analysts said the poor turnout made the outcome of the election uncertain. They said the main issue was whether voters would confirm results of the first round that gave most city halls and local assemblies to candidates of the liberal opposition.

Parties fielding candidates were the centre-right Democratic Forum (MDF) which heads the government coalition, the liberal Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) which is the leading opposition party, the Young Democrats (FIDESZ) and the Smallholders' Party (FKgP). Although not represented in parliament, the Social Democrats (MSZDP) also ran. Absent from the elections was the former Communist Party, renamed Socialist Party, which controlled the capital until early this year.

Criticism of its administration of Budapest has emerged as a common point among all candidates. They also denounce the city's air pollution, chaotic traffic, high cost of living and housing shortage. Another problem is the growing number of homeless people.

Preliminary Budapest Results

LD1410212990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Peter Szoerenyi reports from Budapest's election center:

[Szoerenyi] On the basis of 17 percent of the figures, the proportion of votes for the Budapest metropolitan assembly is broken down as follows:

Alliance of Free Democrats: 36.5 percent;
Hungarian Democratic Forum: 27.1 percent;
Federation of Young Democrats: 17.3 percent;
Hungarian Socialist Party: 6.9 percent;
Christian Democratic People's Party: 4.9 percent;
Hungarian Democratic People's Party: 3.2 percent;
Independent Smallholders' Party: 2.2 percent;
Social Democratic: 0.6 percent. [passage omitted]

Budapest Assembly Results Updated

LD1410230490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2205 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Excerpt] The latest results of the Budapest Assembly are at present based on an evaluation of 33 percent of the vote:

Federation of Young Democrats: 16 percent;
Hungarian Socialist Party: 7 percent;
Alliance of Free Democrats: 34 percent;
Hungarian Democratic Forum: 29.8 percent;
Christian Democratic People's Party: 5 percent.

The other parties are below the four-percent limit. This data, of course, is of an indicative nature because we have only evaluated 33 percent of the results so far. [passage omitted]

Independents Lead Nationwide

LD1510013390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2205 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] I am connecting Andras Kerekes from the national election headquarters.

[Kerekes] Eszter Szabo, press chief of the Interior Ministry, at this very second has begun the news conference. Let us listen in.

[Szabo] The partial results on the information processed so far will now be outlined to you.

[Unidentified speaker] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen: The tabulation of the election results from the entire country is now under way in the Interior Ministry's election office. [passage omitted] We are gathering data for the National Election Committee, so that at 1800 tomorrow evening [1700 GMT], we can make this information public in parliament building—where you are also welcome—in the form of a complete, national, total figure.

In the current situation, I can sum up the following: 2,930 mayors had to be elected in the country, 2,756 of whom were elected on 30 September. Today's task was to elect 148 mayors, and we already know who 33 of these will be. On the basis of the 33 elected mayors, therefore, the trend has continued; furthermore, 28 of the mayors are independent candidates, or rather independent representatives. The party affiliation of the other elected mayors varies.

In the individual electoral constituencies, in the towns—in those with over 10,000 inhabitants—1,707 representatives had to be elected today. Of these, 237 have been elected. Here, again, the independent candidates have been victorious, because 59 of the 237 do not represent parties or social organizations. After the independent candidates, the order of mandates won by the parties is as follows:

Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]: 24 percent;

Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]: 13 percent.

Then follow the two other parties of the government coalition, the Smallholders' Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party, and then representatives from the SZDSZ-Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] coalition.

Today's most important, or interesting, results are from the towns' votes for lists. These took place in 149 towns, and according to the current processed data, the SZDSZ is in first place with 31 percent, the MDF is in second place with 27 percent, followed by FIDESZ with 19 percent, the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] with 10 percent, the Smallholders' Party with eight percent, then the Christian Democratic People's Party with three percent. [passage omitted]

Unofficial Results From Ujpest, Csepel

LD1510011690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2305 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Excerpt] In two working-class districts, the following results were reported. These are unofficial final results:

In Ujpest, the government coalition obtained altogether eight mandates. What we could call the liberal opposition obtained 29, and the Hungarian Socialist Party gained two mandates.

In Csepel, the government coalition obtained five mandates, the Federation of Young Democrats-Alliance of Free Democrats 28, the Hungarian Socialist Party one, and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party one mandate.

These are the latest results. [passage omitted]

Budapest Assembly, District Results

LD1510005990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2340 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Peter Szorenyi will now report from Budapest's election center.

[Szorenyi] I have further information on the districts' individual candidates, based on 63 percent of the returns.

Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]: 74 mandates;

Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]-SZDSZ joint list in various versions: 66 in all;

FIDESZ on its own: 38;

Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]: 12;

Five independent candidates;

MDF-Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]: two.

Various candidates of SZDSZ, FIDESZ, and the KDNP in various coalitions have received one mandate apiece, as has the MDF-Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society coalition and the KDNP on its own. We also have information on the district party lists.

SZDSZ: 64;

FIDESZ: 53;

MDF: 46;

Hungarian Socialist Party: 15;

KDNP: nine;

MDF-KDNP coalition: eight;

Government coalition: six;

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party: four.

Furthermore, one vote [as heard] has been obtained by other lists, including the Smallholders' Party. [passage omitted]

Free Democrats Win in Budapest

LD1510082690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 15 Oct 90

[Text] The opposition has moved to the front in Budapest, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] have gained a majority in the provinces, and many independent candidates have won.

On a nationwide average, in more than 80 percent of the cases the [elected] mayor is an independent candidate. In Budapest the SZDSZ has won the local government elections. The SZDSZ and FIDESZ have together won more than 50 percent of the votes cast in the capital. SZDSZ gained 34.7 percent of the votes in the capital, the Hungarian Democratic Forum has 27.3 percent, while FIDESZ got 18.2 percent; the Hungarian Socialist Party has 7.2 percent, while the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] gained 4.9 percent.

On a nationwide average, a little more than 27 percent of the eligible voters cast their votes, while in Budapest 36 percent voted.

New Budapest Results Given

LD1510010890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0116 GMT 15 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Here are further new results for Budapest on the basis of 72 percent of the returns:

The Federation of Young Democrats improved its position, as presented in the following figures:

Alliance of Free Democrats: 34.3 percent;
Hungarian Democratic Forum: 28.2 percent;
Federation of Young Democrats: 18 percent;
Hungarian Socialist Party: 7.1 percent;
Christian Democratic People's Party: 5.1 percent.

Other parties and groups are below 4 percent. [passage omitted]

Statistics on Industrial Production Published

AU1110115890 Budapest MTI in English 1058 GMT 9 Oct 90

[Text] Budapest, 9 Oct (MTI)—Central Statistical Office figures reveal that, between January and August this year, industrial production by economic units employing more than 50 was 10 per cent down on the figure for the same period of last year.

The drop in production was a feature of the larger companies: The production of companies with a workforce of over 300 dropped by 12.1 per cent, while the production of economic units which employ between 50 and 300 increased by 20.5 per cent.

The number of industrial units employing fewer than 50 people, which was 1,913 at the end of 1989, had topped 3,500 by the middle of the year, which suggests a significant rise in production in this sector.

The reason for the decline in Hungarian industrial production was a combination of a drop in domestic demand and reduced rouble exports.

In the first eight months of the year, rouble exports of industrial products dropped by 32 per cent, while hard currency industrial exports grew by 14 per cent.

Industrial companies with a workforce of over 50 employed an average total of 1,228,000 women this year, 8.3 per cent down on the figure of a year earlier.

Following a rise of 13.4 per cent in 1989, the rate of increase in industrial production prices accelerated between January and August: Dhe domestic sales price level was 21 per cent higher than a year earlier.

The average price of processed industrial products was 21.4 per cent higher on the domestic market than a year earlier, while energy and the price of raw materials grew by 20.5 per cent. Price rises exceeded 30 per cent in several branches of the food industry and in the pharmaceutical industry.

Ministry Official on Force Reduction Talks

LD1410152990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0730 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Interview with David Meitszter, deputy state secretary of foreign affairs, by Istvan Kulcsar; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The world press reported that the U.S. and the Soviet foreign ministers have basically agreed on the reduction of conventional forces in Europe. The treaty is supposed to be completed by 19 November, the Paris summit. Last week in Prague, however, experts of the six Warsaw Pact member states, already without the GDR, held discussions on the details of this treaty. As far as we know, representatives of the smaller member states, such as Czechoslovakia and us, Hungary, argue the exclusive right of the Soviets. Now, is there an agreement or not?

[Begin recording] [Meiszter] There is an agreement, and there also is not. We have to agree on the reduction of several categories of arms, three of which—fighter planes, helicopters, and armored carrier combat vehicles—we have managed to agree on so far in connection with the remaining national quotas. We were unable to reach an agreement on two categories: tanks and artillery.

[Kulcsar] The G-6 is obviously the reduced Warsaw Pact without the GDR. Why, however, is a separate agreement necessary at all when the U.S. and the Soviet foreign ministers have, so to say, already agreed?

[Meiszter] If I may, I would like to correct this news. The U.S. and the Soviet foreign ministers did agree, but not

in all of the issues of the treaty to be concluded in Vienna; only some of the key issues of a Vienna treaty were agreed upon. This is one correction. My other correction is that it was two foreign ministers—that is, two country's representatives—who came to agreement in Vienna; however, a treaty which anticipates the agreement of 22 countries is under way. Thus, if any two sides agree anywhere, this agreement still has to be converted into the agreement of the 22 countries.

[Kulcsar] Is it not about the fact that today the Soviet foreign minister cannot speak alone on behalf of the collapsing Warsaw Pact or, let us say, of the six Warsaw Pact member states?

[Meiszter] That is it, certainly. The European order based on the opposition of the two military alliances has ceased; furthermore, this order has been gradually replaced by a new cooperative security order based on the agreement between sovereign European countries. One of its manifestations is the fact that although the foreign ministers of two countries which possess the greatest military potential agreed on something, it has not automatically become the agreement of the European countries.

[Kulcsar] If I understand it correctly, there is already an agreement on how many, let us say, planes or helicopters or tanks the Warsaw Pact member states can possess. Is there, however, an ongoing debate about how to divide this ceiling, this maximum figure, among the member states? Was this also discussed in Prague last time?

[Meiszter] Yes. The debate is going on over this. On the one hand, there is an agreement between the 22 countries on the extent of the army, in overall European relations, that can remain in their territory in Europe. That is what we call an overall European ceiling. There is also an agreement on how it should be divided between the two groups. Now we are in the phase where, within the collective ceiling, within the groups, the member states have to reach an agreement on what their national quota will be.

[Kulcsar] Can it be expected that they will manage to work out the agreement by 19 November?

[Meiszter] A large part of the agreement has already been completed. I could say that a considerable part of the dividing up, which is a very delicate process, is already behind, too; furthermore, I feel that at the next meeting, which will be held in Prague in two weeks, we will perhaps manage to come to agreement on the two [word indistinct] categories. In that case, I cannot see anything to prevent the final agreement from being completed and ready to be signed by around 15-18 November. [end recording]

Jeszenszky on PRAVDA 'Attack,' Soviet Relations

LD1410104890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0730 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by correspondent Jozsef P. Szabo; place and date not given; from the "World Clock" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky reacted to the events in Jerusalem.

[Jeszenszky] It is always shocking for me when political tension claims human victims, particularly when it is connected with religious shrines, to the most sacred human feelings. A certain connection can be inferred. This clash, which ended up in a massacre, would have come as a godsend to Saddam Husayn even if he had not wanted it. It diverts attention by attempting to contrive a kind of Arab front against Israel. At the same time, the U.S. reaction, which condemns the action or reaction of the Israeli police, can also be understood because it has been endangering the very international collaboration which is totally independent of the Arab-Israeli conflict and which is trying to eliminate an aggression. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] Two rather strange PRAVDA articles appeared in Moscow in rapid succession; both attack the Hungarian Republic quite heavily. Is it, I wonder, PRAVDA's own action, or perhaps the Soviet Union's general dissatisfaction expressed in this?

[Jeszenszky] It is by no means the latter. We are in permanent contact with the Soviet leadership. Preparations for the November Warsaw Pact political body session in Budapest are under way. It is well known, or perhaps not well enough known, that today PRAVDA is not identical to the Soviet leadership's position at all. It is not a true reflection of that.

As I know, there are also quite serious differences within PRAVDA over the chief editor. PRAVDA has suffered a considerable decline in circulation. It seems obvious to me that it is the voice of a certain trend that obviously has not been sympathizing with the changes in Hungary from the beginning. It expresses this in a rather strong voice and, considering the content of the article, in a totally groundless way. It implies that anti-Soviet feeling is frantic in Hungary.

Hungarian citizens are aware that it is not like this. They know that the Hungarian nation does not and did not have any national conflicts with the Russian or Ukrainian peoples or any other peoples of the Soviet Union. I have to say that the Hungarian Republic referred to this recently, as did I in my UN speech.

We greatly appreciate the help and the contribution the reform process in the Soviet Union has meant in the Hungarian reform process. The two are linked; they reinforce each other. Furthermore, just when this PRAVDA article appeared, I instantly met a Soviet

journalist here in the ministry. He asked what perspective I could see for the future relations of the two countries, the two peoples. I told him that I could only imagine a good relationship between the two free peoples. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] I wonder if it is the political or the economic factor that dominates these visitis, because many people say that Hungarian foreign policy is perhaps too active.

[Jeszenszky] For this I believe—for its activity—a foreign policy can be blamed the least. That is its task. An inactive foreign policy has no opportunities. Political negotiations and good political relations are indispensible to economic issues, especially in the country's present situation. I have to say—and the country should also pay attention to this—that these talks are not primarily economic. This is not the foreign minister's primary task. The political atmosphere, however, as well as political talks, constitute the precondition for economic talks and agreements that we greatly need.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Guatemala

LD1210114290 Budapest MTI in English 1034 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Washington, October 11 (MTI)—Hungary has established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Guatemala.

The related protocol was signed in New York on Thursday, by the UN representatives of the two countries.

Mazowiecki Begins Presidential Campaign in Krakow

LD1410134390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki began his presidential campaign with meetings in Krakow. After an enthusiastic welcome at the main station by the inhabitants of Krakow, Tadeusz Mazowiecki went on to meet with the Krakow metropolitan, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, who broke off his visit to the parish of the Most Holy Heart of Jesus in Kety to be able to attend the meeting.

During his meeting with farmers Tadeusz Mazowiecki said, among other things: I do not promise impossible things. As president I would like to ensure that Poland has peace and harmony, as a worthy position in Europe and the world; and for the Polish countryside I would like to ensure that the enterprise of Polish farmers is supported by care for the stability of their workplaces.

He stressed, referring to current gossip, that not one square meter of land which the peasants had recieved as a result of the agricultural reform would be taken away from them.

Mazowiecki Says No to Office Under Walesa

LD1410182190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki arrived in Krakow by express train this morning. From the railway station he was accompanied by crowds of supporters for his presidential candidacy. After a meeting with Cardinal Macharski, the prime minister left for Collegium Chemicum at the Jagiellonian University, where farmers from the Peasant Solidarity association [as heard] were waiting for him. After a discussion their leader stated that now there were no doubts, that he was going to vote for Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Next, there was a walk around the Old Town and a meeting in the philharmonic concert hall, which turned out to be too small to accomodate all his followers. The prime minister greeted those who did not fit inside from the balcony. And that's how Tadeusz Mazowiecki's presidential campaign started in Krakow today.

During the meetings he stated that on 31 August he had proposed to Lech Walesa that a compromise be found and a third candidate be put forward. I was not able to accept in reply the proposition by Lech Walesa, that if he was to become president, I would continue to be prime minister. I did not accept that proposition not because my respect for the person of Lech Walesa had changed, but because his vision of the presidency, which according to me would not augur long lasting cooperation, does not suit me.

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] I decided to run in the competition to save the brittle Polish democracy incalculable upheavals. [applause] I made the decision in the conviction that we already have a chosen path, that we cannot (?depart) from this path, [word indistinct] our joint national effort needs to be made more effective. [passage indistinct] I am submitting to your judgment, the judgment of Polish electors. [end recording]

Mazowiecki Election Committee Set Up in Warsaw

LD1410171790 Warsaw PAP in English 1025 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 13—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's presidential election committee was set up in Warsaw with Zbigniew Bujak as its chairman.

The 65-strong committee is composed of members of the parliament and the government, actors, writers and journalists.

Mazowiecki Campaign Openes With Attack on Walesa

AU1110090990 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Oct 90 p 3

['KL'-signed report: "Kuron Begins Mazowiecki's Campaign—Walesa's Promises"]

[Text] We had planned a meeting of all those who want to help in the election campaign, but seeing that there were hardly any posters in the city, it is a miracle that anybody knew about it, said Jacek Kuron at the start of his address to a rather small gathering in the "Riviera" cinema last Saturday in Warsaw. After an hour or so, the cinema was almost full. The fact that the posters that had been put up stated that there would be a discussion on who would be the future president compounded the misunderstanding. I do not know who that is going to be, but I do know that I would like it to be Tadeusz Mazowiecki. I will explain why, he continued.

Things Are Bad and They Will Stay Bad

We have been confronted by the results of our policies over the last twelve months, namely, unemployment and a fall in our standard of living. We still have confusion and incompetence. These are the arguments Walesa is relying on.

We predicted a 20 percent drop in real wages, whereas at the end of the year it will be nearer 28 percent (it is currently 30 percent, but wages are beginning to rise slowly). We did not hide the fact that these changes would entail great sacrifices and that they would be have to be borne by everyone. For the last 20 years we had over-consumption. Our national income is about seven times lower than it in the West and this is reflected in our real wages. The educated section of our society knows this.

Acceleration Is Madness

The confusion might suggest that some kind of acceleration is desirable, everything can be put in order, and the time needed to catch up with the West greatly reduced. Let me say that even with the most optimistic projections for our national growth, it will take 10 years for us to attain the West's present standard of living. And if external conditions deteriorate—an economic disaster is imminent in the USSR and that is where our cheap oil came from—this time scale will be much longer. The call for acceleration and radical changes is madness. When Walesa declared such a program, my heart stopped dead.

Everyone Is Right

The understandable disaffection felt by people has prompted Walesa to adopt a very simple campaign strategy: Promise anything to anyone.

He told the farmers in Mlawa: You are right. In other words, there will be no change in the dairy industry. He told the Slupsk railway workers: You are right. In other words, wages for railway workers must go up. He told the Silesian miners: You are right. In other words, increase coal prices.

Walesa and his staff have made many promises. But these are all impossible pledges. Is he going to issue every Pole a check for 100 million zlotys [Z] to buy a part of the national wealth? With optimistic estimates, every Pole would need Z20 million to do this, and if we add land and mines, it is more like Z30 million.

Eliminate unemployment? We have a 30 percent labor overcapacity in our enterprises. Many enterprises will collapse. The problem of this government's battle is to try and hold next year's total unemployment figure nearer 1.8 million, rather than 2 or 2.5 million.

Accelerate privatization? One has to understand that it will only accelerate the rate of unemployment.

Actively support the farmers? The 1991 central budget will only increase by a few percent and we are already committed to making increased allocations to welfare and state sector wages. Spending on agriculture will only increase by a couple of percent. How can one say that these figures will allow more active support of the agricultural sector?

The Government Is Incompetent

I admit it, the government is rather incompetent, because two thirds of it is comprised of people like me who came, saw, and began to learn how to do things. At the same time we had to organise the work of others.

If the government changes, it will perform just as we did in its first year. After a year, it will begin to understand what it is all about. What will happen when Walesa does not deliver all that he has promised? Will there be a great outcry that he has failed?

Continuity or Death

He will have to shift all the blame on the government. How many strikes and blockades will there be? What means will be used to solve them? Continuity is essential, the alternative is death. That is why I decided to take part in this campaign. I did not know whether I could do so, being a minister. But I decided to go ahead when I realized that the subject of this campaign is going to be the government's performance. I felt I had to, although I will only campaign after my normal working day. Campaign issues will not be aired on my regular Tuesday television program.

Kuron stated that Mazowiecki's election committee would be taking a bank loan for the campaign and would repay it by selling donation certificates for campaign fund to the public.

I think that the chances are almost equal and that Mazowiecki will win with a slight majority, he concluded.

Mazowiecki Comments on Frictions With Walesa

PM1210080390 Madrid ABC in Spanish 27 Sep 90 p 30

[Interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by C. Lopez Schlichting in Madrid; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Schlichting] Walesa criticizes you for reaching agreement with the communists and thereby preventing a real renewal of the state structures. What truth is there in this assertion?

[Mazowiecki] It is a criticism which has nothing to do with reality; it is completely absurd. It is simply a matter, as Spain also tried to do, of securing for all citizens—for everybody—the opportunity to lead a normal life in the country without civil war breaking out.

Reduce Inflation

[Schlichting] You have also been criticized for forgetting the Polish workers in introducing a drastic economic plan which, it is estimated, in a year will increase the number of unemployed to 1.2 million, and which has brought the country to the brink of revolt, while some of your ministers' expenditure is described as "corrupt..."

[Mazowiecki] My government never forgets the workers because it remembers its origins. We are engaged in constant talks with the trade unions, but we attained power when Poland was suffering from an inflation rate of 30 percent per month, and now this has been reduced to two or three percent, and this also changes the workers' situation. There was no way other than that which we chose to control inflation and prepare for a certain expansion of the economy.

Political Differences

[Schlichting] The church previously played a mediatory role between Solidarity and the Communist Party in

Poland. However, last week it had to mediate between yourselves. What happened at the meeting called by Monsignor Glemp, which was attended by Jaruzelski, Walesa, and yourself?

[Mazowiecki] Its aim was the clear the way for setting the country's future political agenda, in connection with the presidential and parliamentary elections. But it was a meeting at which decisions could not be taken because that is parliament's task, and in fact the parliamentary debate took place in the chamber three days later. At any event, the primate's initiative was of some importance for the political atmosphere in which these changes must take place.

[Schlichting] Was not a truce between Walesa and yourself arranged?

[Mazowiecki] No, this was not so. I would prefer to reply in the affirmative to this question, but I cannot.

[Schlichting] Great men such as Michnik, Kuron, Walesa, and yourself, have shared in Poland imprisonment, the trade union struggle, and a whole history with such clear landmarks as St. Brygida's Church in Gdansk. In that church you addressed the people shortly after being appointed prime minister, and now Lech Walesa and his supporters have left it as a mark of protest. What could there be which is so great and far-reaching as to be able to break up such a friendship?

[Mazowiecki] In the first place, it is not the only phenomenon in history, and, second, everything that was formed in Solidarity, including the citizens' movement, was a gigantic antitotalitarian mobilization which comprised people and groups of very different leanings. Now that totalitarianism has been defeated, there is nothing bad or wrong about a political differentiation emerging from this movement. The problem is that we need two things; first, this political pluralist differentiation, but at the same time keeping a certain consensus on fundamentals. It is an extremely difficult balance—hence our great responsibility.

[Schlichting] Does this consensus on fundamentals which you mention include attachment to the church? What role do you reserve for it?

[Mazowiecki] The Church's role was and will remain important. In the days of the struggle against totalitarianism it was a crucial spokesman for human rights, and, at the same time, made an essential call for everything to be resolved peacefully. Now that conditions have changed, the church is and will remain important as a stabilizing factor to prevent extreme tendencies from disrupting what is emerging. [passage omitted]

Frasyniuk Supports Mazowiecki Candidacy

LD1410130590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] I hope that on Monday or Tuesday Tadeusz Mazowiecki will be officially registered as a presidential candidate, said Wladyslaw Frasyniuk who, together with Deputy Senate Speaker Andrzej Wielowieyski took part in Karowice in a meeting with ROAD [Citizens Movement Democratic Party] sympathizers.

The meeting was devoted to the presidential campaign, to the points made by other candidates, and their programs.

Skalski Editorial Hails Mazowiecki Candidacy

AU1110134290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 5 Oct 90 p 1

[Ernest Skalski editorial: "Tadeusz Mazowiecki Will Run for the Presidency"]

[Text] Everybody was expecting it and now it has become a fact. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's candidacy means that we will not face a simple plebiscite: Who is for, and who is against Walesa? This is not just an election, but a choice of the way we want to see basic Polish issues solved.

Mazowiecki's, candidacy means that everything for which we fought so hard will not be lost. It also means a quicker and more decisive policy. This comes about not just because the prime minister has said so, but because there will be a formidable opposition that will demand decisiveness and effectiveness.

Walesa is an unknown quantity. He has consistently avoided committing himself to any concrete proposals and instead has made promises. He may well try to continue present policies, but this may prove impossible when he is faced by his supporters' demands. And these demands have often been unrealistic and frequently self-contradictory. How will he satisfy the Gdansk liberals, the Slupsk rail workers, and the farmers from Mlawa?

We are still at a very early stage, but we have already achieved a great deal. If there is to be a return of empty shelves, unending lines, parallel prices, and a worthless currency, we would soon appreciate the real value of market equilibrium, even with prices that may be too high for a great many people.

Our first successes have cost us—and are still costing us—a great deal. They cost too much for us to brave the attendant risks that come with great political change. There is already a lot at stake and we must try to be wise before the event.

Walesa Presents 'Vision of President' at Meeting

LD1310035590 Warsaw PAP in English 2234 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Poznan, Oct. 12—At a two-hour electoral meeting in Poznan Lech Walesa presented his vision of a president and said that (president) should be an arbiter who guarded social justice.

"I was saying I did not want to become Poland's president but I must do it. The present situation has no connection with the trust of masses. Today, it is a hard task to be Poland's president. I am able to lead Poland to Europe because I am one of you. I want to be strong with your strength and wise with your wisdom," he said.

"I plan to create in Poland such legal and financial conditions that will put forth Poles' energies," Walesa said.

In the forenoon, Lech Walesa met with the leadership of the Solidarity chapter of Wielkopolska (Greater Poland) and with representatives of bigger enterprises of that region. He laid flowers at the plaque commemorating the Poznan June of 1956 at the main gate to the Cegielski metal plant.

Walesa Participates in Kalisz Campaign Meeting

LD1310220190 Warsaw PAP in English 1831 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Kalisz, Oct. 13—Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa took part in a campaign meeting in Kalisz today where his followers collected signatures supporting his candidacy for the presidential office.

"I will be a president of a state of law, but I will not trust any authority. I will constantly meet with people to ask them what is wrong. I will force you to participation, to take the responsibility for Poland," said Walesa.

From Kalisz, Walesa went to Konin to take part in a similar campaign rally. Asked how he justifies his will to become Poland's president, Walesa replied that his intention is to accelerate democratic changes and to expand freedom and pluralism.

Referring to the problem of unemployment, Walesa said: In a country where there is so much to do in every respect, the level of unemployment should not be high and there should not be a threat of unemployment.

Walesa Adviser Presents Political Plans, Situation

LD1210000990 Warsaw PAP in English 2212 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Vienna, Oct. 11—At a press conference here today the head of the team of Lech Walesa's advisers, Andrzej Micewski, presented Walesa's political plans related to his presidential bid.

Authorized by Lech Walesa to present the situation in Poland, Micewski said in his statement that "Poland has not regained her sovereignty and freedom yet. There is no democracy either since 65 per cent of seats in the Sejm belong to communists and their allies."

Micewski is paying a visit to Austria following the invitation from "Europa Democratica," an organization cooperating with the Pan-European movement of Otto Von Habsburg.

Peasant Party Board Declares Support for Walesa

LD1510041990 Warsaw PAP in English 1939 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 14—The main board of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) confirmed today the earlier stand of its main executive committee and declared its strong support for Lech Walesa in the presidential race.

At its Sunday session, the main board appealed to residents of rural districts and towns to take part in the presidential elections and to vote for Walesa.

In another move, the party directed a statement of claim to the voivodship court concerning the protection of its name so that the former United Peasant Party (ZSL) could not use it. Last May, PSL refused to participate in the Unity Congress of the Peasants Movement.

TV Strives for Balance Between Walesa, Mazowiecki

LD1110100790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] On Sunday [14 October], the air time devoted to the two main candidates for president—Walesa and Mazowiecki—is being measured in various current affairs programs broadcast by television. The point is, as Jacek Snopkiewicz said for GAZETA WYBORCZA, to keep the balance and avoid accusations of manipulation. The head of television news is also attempting to set up this week an appeals team at the Sejm Commission for Culture and Mass Media which would examine all complaints against current affairs programs.

PAP Lists 14 Presidential Candidates

LD1310034690 Warsaw PAP in English 2104 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 12—Fourteen people have offered themselves so far as candidates for the office of president. Here is a list of them:

Roman Bartoszcze (chairman of the Polish Peasant Party), Jan Bratoszewski (retired attorney from Radom), Janusz Brtyczkowski (leader of the Polish Green Party), Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz (head of the Parliamentary Caucus of the Democratic Left Wing), Gabriel Janowski (head of the Farmers Solidarity), Janusz Korwin-Mikke (chairman of the Union for Real Politics), Tadeusz Mazowiecki (chairman of the Council of Ministers), Leszek Moczulski (leader of the Confederation of Independent Poland), Kornel Morawiecki (head of the Freedom Party), Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki (chairman of the Christian-Democratic Labour Party), Boleslaw Tejkowski (president of the Polish National Unity of the Polish National Party), Waldemar Trajdos (former employee of the Lodz PZU [state insurance bureau]), Stanislaw Tyminski (leader of the Freedom Party in Canada), Lech Walesa (Solidarity chairman).

The list is not final yet. In an opening stage, every Pole who has turned 35 can be a candidate for the presidential office, October 25 will be the final date of selecting those who can run for the presidency. Each of them must collect at least 100,000 signatures (of the future electorate) to support their candidates.

Presidential Candidates Present Platforms

LD1510035390 Warsaw PAP in English 2155 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Oct—The main bureau of the Freedom Party in Wroclaw, which fielded the party's leader Kornel Morawiecki in the presidential race, has issued an electoral appeal, accusing Solidarity leader Lech Walesa of failing to meet social expectations, of departing from the Gdansk agreements, of dividing Solidarity, reaching secret alliances with Communists and of being "the architect of the round table."

"We need a new leader of the nation, who has not defamed himself by cooperating with the Communists, who has not agreed to equivocal compromises. Kornel Morawiecki is such a leader. Only he has not betrayed the ideals of Solidarity," reads the appeal.

The leader of the KPN Confederation for Independent Poland, presidential candidate Leszek Moczulski today presented his program of restructuring and independent state, moral renewal, rebuilding the economy, defending agriculture, saving the natural environment, redirecting foreign policy and giving young Poles access to power. He was critical of the concept of "acceleration", stressing that not all the activities of the current government should be speeded up.

Leader of the PSL Polish Peasant Party and presidential candidate Roman Bartoszcze held a meeting in Piaseczno, Gdnask Voivodship today, presenting the party's economic program and stressing that the whole peasant movement is ready to accept responsibility for all of Poland and to guarantee its political stability. He spoke in favour of creating a government of experts which would eliminate the remnants of people's Poland and build possibilities for Poland to develop on its own.

Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, running for president on the ticket of the SP Christian-Democratic Labour Party, told PAP: "I think that my program can be accepted by every man professing a Christian world outlook. I am a firm advocate of struggle not only for freedom but democracy as well because in 1989 we regained freedom but did not recover democracy."

Sila-Nowicki thought that the most important matter at the moment was to awake the greater part of Polish society from political lethargy. "Only the participation of all Poles in the elections will ensure Poland of the right president," said he.

Democratic Left Club Head To Run for President

LD1110044790 Warsaw PAP in English 2221 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—Chairman of the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz told newsmen today that his club decided to support his candidacy for the Polish presidency.

"I think that the presidential elections would not be complete and would not correspond with values of a democratic state if representatives of one political option alone were to take part in it. This may seem strange, but not all Poles are members of Solidarity, an option, for which I have great appreciation and respect. Those who are not Solidarity members could feel inhibited in choosing a candidate for the presidential office," said Cimoszewicz.

ROAD's Litynski Article Reviews Presidency

AU1110095190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Oct 90 p 3

[Article by ROAD member Jan Litynski: "There Is No Easy Way"]

[Text] The Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD] was formed because of the split in the "Solidarity" movement.

We were hoping that the movement would remain united until the next parliamentary elections. It was composed of nascent political groups, the Citizens Parliamentary Club, and, above all, the "Solidarity" trade union. However, the Center Accord was set up and the movement collapsed. ROAD was a reaction to that, although people holding such views were in "Solidarity" from the very beginning.

A very dangerous situation has arisen. The government that was elected by "Solidarity" has lost its power base. ROAD is now trying to provide the government with a power base, although we are critical of many of the government's actions and believe that changes are required. These changes can be made if the government enjoys support and if any personnel changes that are made do not lead to its collapse.

The Center Accord has been advocating acceleration. I do not understand what is meant by that. Acceleration allows for a great many different interpretations depending on who is talking about it and in what context. At first, what we heard was fierce criticism of the government's economic program. Then the leaders of the Center informed us that the program is a good one, but that it is being implemented in the wrong political context. What is needed is an acceleration process in politics, that is to say, personnel changes initiated at the top and extending to the very lowest levels. According to other statements, we were told that this personnel acceleration process should be conducted by people who have authority at the lowest levels, because they possess the

appropriate powers. I agree with that: Directors should be replaced by employee councils; regional administration officials by local government councils; and changes at the central administrative level have already gone quite far. The changes should go even further, but that has nothing to do with acceleration. It is a question of turning an inefficient administration apparatus in to what might be an efficient one. In most cases, the problem is that there are no new people to fill the posts. Energetic people are drawn to business, where they can earn significantly more than in public service or in a state enterprise. That is the basic problem. If acceleration is to be understood as a revolution implemented from above by a strong man, then I am very much against that. I am against revolution.

The Center talks about accelerating the privatization process. Once again, I agree—privatization should be rapid and should enjoy public support. However, it should be conducted in a way that will prevent a repetition of what happened in the GDR, where suddenly all plants began to slide into bankruptcy, because they could not compete with the West. Our industry is inefficient compared to Western industry. If we rapidly open up to the rest of the world, we will have four times as many unemployed people that an the present time.

In addition to acceleration, there are calls for the scrapping of the "roundtable" agreements. Those ceased to exist a long time ago. The government has the support of parliament, because there is no alternative. At any rate, parliament does not see there being an alternative. It is indicative that when the Center Accord was established, certain changes that were being proposed by the Sejm were rejected. So, in a certain sense, the Center Accord smashed the existing parliamentary majority.

It is obvious that Sejm and Senate elections should take place soon. However, as far as I remember that is not exactly what the Center Accord was proposing. The Center Accord talked about speeding up the election of a president, that is, the election of a president by the current National Assembly. It was ROAD that proposed the election of a president by universal suffrage.

I fear that the Center Accord's slogans have created the illusion that the transition to a normal economy is a straightforward matter. That is not so, there is no simple way of achieving that transition.

What is being proposed by the Center Accord lacks cohesion. I think that there are groups of sober economists in the Center Accord, but their sober view of things would change if they were to find themselves in government and were to be confronted with all the difficulties involved in making decisions. Apart from them, there are groups that bandy about slogans such as employee ownership without realizing that what they are proposing is precisely some sort of "third way," that is, some partial form of the system that we have already had.

What the government is doing and what is supported by ROAD is sometimes described as a philosophy of evolutionary change. Revolution is something that brings destruction. It is easy to destroy things while calling for justice. If the "personnel revolution" being proposed by the Center Accord were to be realized, instead of justice, what we would have is the hunting down of anyone who had anything whatsoever to do with regime. I am convinced that this would not be done by people who were opposed to communism, but those who were able to turn things to their advantage. Of course, you can throw out the entire old administration, but before a new one is created, the damage will not be undone, and in five years' time we might find ourselves in the position that we are in now.

Of course, there are many charges that can be leveled at the government. For example, it can be accused of being inconsistent in its policy toward light industry. It would have been possible to erect higher tariff barriers, and it was a mistake not to have done so.

It can be charged that the prosecution service has not been effective enough. If appropriate attention had been give to companies of a certain kind, then we might have seen some trials for criminal offenses. Television is another issue. It is government television and no one really knows why, although the government does not have the slightest influence on it. The changes in television have not gone far enough, and it is understandable that television employees should be bitter. There are also other examples. However, I do not think that any other government would have been able to act more effectively under the circumstances. I would like to see some criticism of the construction ministry, which is currently attacked the most frequently, that would indicate how money should be raised for apartments for housing cooperative members. Of course, it is impossible for people to pay tens of millions for an apartment, because they will not have those sorts of sums. However, none of the critics have said—at least none that I have read—where the money should come from.

These were mistakes that were made in actual practice in a situation in which the government was being attacked, when we had this and not some other parliament, and while we were realizing a very difficult economic program that involved many sacrifices. There is no doubt that these mistakes need to be rectified.

Changes in the composition of the government should, of course, be made. I hope that a new political situation will emerge after the elections and that the government will become markedly less dependent on the Sejm.

ROAD resembles the U.S. Democratic Party in some respects. It includes people who hold many different views, but who are united by a common goal—the desire to create a stable democratic system. In the future, ROAD will probably not become the major grouping, but one that will have a very great influence on what is happening in the country. It cannot be compared to the

traditional European parties. I, for example, will prefer liberal, social democratic, or conservative solutions depending on the particular circumstances.

We are proposing a system with a strong legislature, which, in my opinion, is the best solution at the present time. Other groupings, such as the Forum of the Democratic Right, propose a strong Presidency. The model that is finally adopted in Poland is something that will be settled in the future. I would only be afraid of there being a strong legislature without any kind of parliamentary majority. That will depend on the electoral code.

What would benefit Poland most would be the emergence of two large political groupings—one them could be ROAD and the other could be the Center Accord. This would make political stability possible. However, I fear that the present situation is tending in the opposite direction. A complete fragmentation and atomization of the "Solidarity" movement is taking place. This might result in chaos and instability.

This process was started by Lech Walesa. He currently has the support of the majority of "Solidarity" activists. His withdrawal from the Polish political scene would be a misfortune for Poland. He is too powerful a politician. A place should be found for him, but I fear that judging by his statements, that place should not be the Presidency. On many occasions, he has said that he will exceed the powers that the office of head of state will provide him with. That worries me. If we are to create a state that is based on the rule of law, then no person, regardless of what office he may hold, should abuse the law. I would tend to see him in the role of prime minister or leader of the strongest club in parliament. In this way he would be able to influence the political life of the country while also bearing responsibility. What I fear about a Walesa presidency is strong authority without responsibility.

In my opinion, Tadeusz Mazowiecki is a suitable candidate for president. It is true that he makes decisions after careful and lengthy thought, and I think that he should sometimes make decisions more quickly. However, the prime minister is able to implement his decisions resolutely. A president does not have to make decisions quickly, because he is meant to symbolize stability. He should act in extraordinary situations, react when the government becomes stuck in a blind alley, but he should do so in accordance with the law. Tadeusz Mazowiecki possesses a vision of foreign policy of domestic policy, and he implements those policies irrespective of what may appear advantageous in terms of immediate political considerations. As president, he would be able to preserve the continuity of his policies, regardless of what cabinet changes occur. He has demonstrated that he can do this.

Center Alliance's Kern Interviewed on Elections

PM0410135290 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 18 Sep 90 pp 1, 6-7

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Andrzej Kern, co-founder of Center Alliance, by GLOS PORANNY correspondent Henryk Sroczynski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Sroczynski] Does the Center Alliance, which you co-founded, bear the trademarks of a presidential party?

[Kern] No! The Center Alliance is not a presidential party. This is best attested to by the fact that we have prepared the blueprints for future political and economic programs. Perhaps today neither of these blueprints answers the present needs in full—since they are not complete—but work is still in progress on both of them. On the other hand, the fact that we are nominating Lech Walesa for the office of president is only an ordinary calculated political move on our part and does not offer any ground for assuming that we are presidential party. At present the Center Alliance constitutes a federation of political groups, private citizens, and a certain number of citizens committees. Nevertheless, the Alliance's development will be in the direction of forming a regular political party.

[Sroczynski] What are your reasons for nominating Lech Walesa for president?

[Kern] We have several reasons. The value of what he has done for Poland and Europe is immeasurable. He shows no inclination to capitalize on his background as a "veteran fighter." He has a refreshingly original attitude to political and economic problems. He is a man who commands authority not only in Poland but also worldwide. Moreover, he is gifted with something which cannot be learned even at the world's most exclusive and elite education establishments: He has a certain political instinct which has not failed him once to date. Finally, it is quite important that he can find a common language with the widest public circles.

[Sroczynski] You combine Walesa's nomination with a concept of strong presidential power. Will this concept win sufficient support?

[Kern] The Center Alliance favored extensive presidential powers—fashioned on the French Republic model—from its very inception. On the other hand, the Citizens Movement Democratic Action [ROAD] group at first insisted that the president should represent the state abroad; thus, his authority would extend only to matters connected with representation. However, to judge from a number of subsequent statements by our ROAD colleagues, they now seem to accept the concept of the so-called extensive presidential powers, too. Therefore, in the light of this concept of presidential power, it seems to us that Walesa is the most suitable man for that office.

[Sroczynski] But ROAD is resolutely against the presidential election being conducted by the National Assembly. Are you still keeping this variant at the ready?

[Kern] I do not exclude the possibility that we could return to the idea of the presidential election's being conducted by the present National Assembly. We would be forced to accept this variant if the legislative process, as well as the official talks on the general presidential election and the election timetable, become protracted to a point which could jeopardize the stability of the political situation in the country. However, I must stress that the Center Alliance has always maintained that a general election would be the most suitable method of choosing a new president. Nevertheless, let us state the following openly: Even if it came to a presidential election conducted by the National Assembly, the situation would still be better than it is now, since the present incumbent of that office is still Wojciech Jaruzelski, who symbolizes the martial law period and the roundtable agreement—and these belong to a time which is now well and truly behind us.

[Sroczynski] But the new president will also issue decrees. Will that not, in effect, curtail democracy?

[Kern] Yes. It will curtail it to some extent. But even if the president is empowered to issue decrees with the official standing of legislative acts, this does not necessarily mean that the Sejm will have no power over these decrees. Each of them will be subject to official ratification by the Sejm. At least, such has been the practice to date. Under such new circumstances, the pace of the legislative work would accelerate. Today some 70 bills await completion, having been submitted to the Sejm Speaker's Office. Currently the Sejm is not capable of "processing" all of them quickly, even at the present "turnover" rate. There are so many urgent cases of laws needing to be passed as soon as possible that it is difficult even to make some kind of priority selection.

[Sroczynski] Do you believe that Prime Minister Mazowiecki will run in the election as a rival to Walesa?

[Kern] The prime minister has been asked about this many times, and he invariably answers that he will tell us when the time is right. The fact that there are several candidates to that extremely difficult office—among others, the names of Minister Skubiszewski and Senate Speaker Stelmachowski have been mentioned—should fill us with optimism. It proves that these people are not afraid to shoulder the tremendous burden of responsibility.

[Sroczynski] If Lech Walesa were to be elected to the office of president, would it mean that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's rule as prime minister is over?

[Kern] It would be impossible to imagine cooperation between these two eminent politicians without a precise mapping-out of the field in which that cooperation should take place. However, considering that they already demonstrated their ability to cooperate in very difficult circumstances in the past, I believe that they would now be equally capable of working together under circumstances that would be equally difficult, though qualitatively very different.

[Sroczynski] What if the Sejm refuses to dissolve itself?

[Kern] As far as the existing political configurations in the Sejm are concerned, the situation is truly chaotic. For the sake of our optimum future political development it would be best if the Sejm were to agree to dissolve itself willingly. Of course, if it refuses to do so, it would be possible to provoke a parliamentary crisis. And there are many ways of bringing that about. For example, by failing to pass the next budget act. This would force the president to dissolve parliament. Another way would be for a significant number of deputies to resign from their seats. However, I believe that it is in the interest of all political forces to establish together a calendar of future changes. I hope that the talks on this subject already under way will be concluded on a positive note.

[Sroczynski] What could go wrong in the course of the presidential election? What developments should we fear?

[Kern] The presidential campaign will proceed as they all do: There will be some taunts and skirmishes. But I do not foresee any dangerous developments. The only question which gives rise to anxiety is the proportion of the electorate that will actually get up and vote in the election. This is because the fewer people cast their votes, the less representative the president will be—and the authorities elected with him.

[Sroczynski] What forecast do you make: Which political groups will fight the decisive electoral battle?

[Kern] Undoubtedly we will reach a "moment of truth." The political scene holds some 70 various groups and parties. Many of these were set up still under conditions of underground conspiracy and are based on politically inspired friendships. Most of them were skilled at fighting against totalitarianism, but they have not been able to devise political programs for the present time. I believe that these groups will be defeated in the election and that many people will interpret this as a personal defeat. In my opinion, the decisive battle over parliamentary seats will be fought between the forces which are entering the political scene today, that is, the Center Alliance, ROAD, and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL].

Citizens Committee on Media Access, Elections

AU1110133290 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6-7 Oct 90 p 2

["K.G."-signed report: "Citizens Committee Protests"]

[Text] The mass media, and radio and television in particular, will play a key role in the presidential election campaign. In the opinion of the Lech Walesa Citizens Committee: "Being under the control of the government, the mass media does not, in its present form, guarantee impartial and equal access for all candidates to radio, television, press agencies, and central journalists."

According to the Citizens Committee, organizational changes have to be made to the functioning of the mass media if it is to perform its functions in a way that conforms to public expectations and basic democratic norms.

Sejm Votes on National, State Symbols

LD1210205290 Warsaw PAP in English 1842 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 12—The Sejm (lower house) decided today that the name of the state can be used exclusively by state institutions and bodies. In a vote on the text of this resolution 235 deputies were for, 5 against and 33 abstained.

"The draft document was prepared at the initiative of Deputy Jerzy Zurawiecki (Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP]) and was proposed because of fear of the depreciation of the name of the state, which without legal protection, would be used for advertising goods or abused by organisations trying to increase their prestige," said rapporteur Andrzej Sikora (OKP).

With 201 votes for, 22 against and 39 abstentions, the Sejm rejected a draft resolution on protection of national and state symbols. The final decision of the chamber was in tune with the stand of the legislative committee which stated that the national emblem, colours and anthem are protected by the law of January 1980.

Adopts Border Protection Law

LD1210205690 Warsaw PAP in English 1912 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Oct—The Sejm (lower house) today adopted a law on the protection of the state border with 266 votes for and 6 abstentions. The law defines Poland's border, a zone of the border road and the border zone. It specifies the principles of crossing the border and points to administrative units responsible for the proper maintenance of border crossings.

Deputy Jozef Lubieniecki of the Citizens Parliamentary Club (OKP) said that the law made Poland open to everybody who planned to come here with good intentions or to leave it.

The Sejm adopted also a law on the service of employees of the Border Guard with 267 votes for, 1 against and 2 abstentions.

Deputy Andrzej Kosmalski from the Citizens Parliamentary Club said that the Border Guard was a new formation after the war, with homogeneous uniforms and weapons and police and military tasks, taking over duties of the WOP Frontier Guard.

Adopting a stand on statements by deputies, Deputy Interior Minister Jerzy Zimowski said that the Border Guard would serve only to fight any offences against violating the state border.

Three Days of Debate Conclude

LD1310194590 Warsaw PAP in English 1734 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 13—The lower house of the Polish parliament ended three-day debates today during which the legislative procedure started with regard to new legal acts. The deepest emotions were aroused by the issue of a national referendum on constitutional and parliamentary matters, proposed to be held on Nov. 25, the day of the presidential elections. After a heated discussion the Sejm rejected the bill.

Today's agenda also included the first reading of government draft amendments to the law on research and development centres, aimed to adjust the activity of those centres to the new economic situation.

The Sejm heard deputies' draft amendments to the law on the bar, proposing to increase its independence. During a related discussion deputies also analysed draft amendments to the law on legal counsellors. Next both drafts were sent to proper Sejm committees.

Rightist Confederation Leader Outlines Party Aims

LD1110025390 Warsaw PAP in English 1552 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Wloclawek, Oct. 10—Leader of the right-wing Confederation for Independent Poland Leszek Moczulski met with Wloclawek residents last Tuesday [9 Oct] to present to them his seven point electoral programme.

The aim of his party is to lead the second breakthrough in the history of Poland, Moczulski said as all the disputes concerning Poland's political life boil down to personal ambitions instead of focusing on programmes.

In his programme, Moczulski spoke in favour of, among other things, the reconstruction of independent Poland, through the reinstatement of the Constitution of 1935 and providing conditions for society's moral recovery, a broad and fast process of privatization of Polish enterprises. He also stressed the need to utterly re-orientate Poland's foreign policy.

Government Briefing on Domestic, Foreign Topics

LD1210171490 Warsaw PAP in English 1538 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Oct—"Poland has made a significant contribution to the unification of Germany but this cannot become a burden for her," spokeswoman for the government Malgorzata Niezabitowska told journalists today, while commenting on the lack of progress in the Polish-German talks on the united Germany's respecting Poland's economic agreements with the former GDR.

Today's press conference focused on the visit by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to Moscow, government's work schedule and Tadeusz Mazowiecki's presidential campaign

Polish Expectations From the United Germany

Niezabotowska described the unification of Germany as one of the most important events in postwar Europe. She announced that talks with the German side on the border treaty would be held in Warsaw on October 30 and 31. The Polish Foreign Ministry is working on a global treaty on cooperation.

"Poland needs this cooperation. So does Germany, because it is in its interest to have a partner as its eastern neighbour and not a land of poverty and frustration," Niezabitowska said.

Niezabitowska also announced that a Mazowiecki-Kohl meeting would take place soon. Speaking about Poland's one-sided decision on a temporary suspension of compulsory visas for the former GDR citizens, Niezabitowska stated that the Polish side also expected talks with Germany on visa facilitations.

Soviet Germans to Kaliningrad?

Niezabitowska recalled the Polish Government (from Kazakhstan) to the Kaliningrad region.

She said that these plans aroused historically motivated concern in Poland (this was a centre of Eastern Prussia in the inter-war period).

She voiced an opinion that a duty-free zone could be set up in Kaliningrad (Krolewiec) and that Poland would then become a "natural road from this zone to the West."

Premier's Foreign Visits

In the coming weeks (apart from a meeting with Kohl), Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki will pay a visit to Paris to attend a CSCE meeting, and to Budapest (in November) to hold talks with representatives of states-members of the Warsaw Pact.

10 Million Tonnes of Oil From the USSR?

Niezabitowska said that today the Soviet side was expected to make a declaration to Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, now on a visit to Moscow, to supply Poland with 10 million tonnes of oil next year. However, this is not a formal contract but only a declaration of the Soviet Government.

Stand on Events in Jerusalem

We received the events in Jerusalem with deep regret and indignation, Niezabitowska said and added that the present situation in Israel and on the occupied territories required Palestinian-Israeli dialogue to be started.

When Is the Border With Czechoslovakia To Open?

"We do not understand Czechoslovakia's resistance to open our common border," Niezabitowska said.

"The hysteria in the mass media of that country is unjust for Poland and Poles," Niezabitowska added and said that the Czechoslovak side also hampered the restoring of the border tourist traffic.

What Is Mazowiecki's Presidential Programme?

"Tadeusz Mazowiecki's programme in the presidential campaign will be that of the government," Niezabitowska said. It will be modified and expanded onto the matters connected with the Constitution, future shape of the state etc.

The spokeswoman stressed that although her sympathy was with Mazowiecki, she would not participate in the presidential campaign.

Report on "Vodka Gate"

The premier has been presented with a report on the so-called alcohol scandal (offences connected with the mass import of spirits to Poland) prepared by the Ministry of Justice and the NIK Supreme Chamber of Control.

Niezabitowska stated that according to the report, no members of the government and no persons holding top position in the state administration nor their families were involved in the scandal.

Other Matters

The journalists were also told that no Soviet troops being withdrawn from the GDR had been redeployed in Poland.

The necessity of purchasing oil for hard currency at the prices pushed upwards due to the crisis in the Gulf may endanger the whole economic programme for the next year.

If Poland imported sugar now, then its price would be significantly lower than that of sugar being produced from this year's sugar-beet in this country.

Officials Meet Press To View Information Office

LD1110084190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] A lot of emotions were aroused over the issue of organizing the Office for Information and Analysis at the Office for State Protection during todays news conference by the heads of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the police, and the Office for State Protection.

Correspondents thought this would be an office for following Poland's political activity:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] I would like to put your mind at east on the Office for Information and Analysis with the following statement:

First, in the decisions of the organizational regulation that lays down the matters of the Office of Information and Analysis, it was stated that the office's work does not use any means which arise from operational work [praca operacyjna]. Specifically, this involves personal sources of information. This is the first statement.

Second, we do not make official approaches to political parties, trade unions, work enterprises, associations, and societies.

In this situation, I would like to ask—and you may wish to answer this question yourselves: When the office is not using means of operational work, what dangers can arise from the activity of such an office, particulary with the collection of official information which is widely accessible to all citizens? [end recording]

Participants at the news conference were also interested in the corruption affair of Miroslaw Milewski and six others. It was reported that their criminal activity goes back to 1968 and results in the loot estimated to be 65 kg of gold, precious stones, and valuables.

Information conveyed by General Kiszczak that in 1984 an investigation was carried out by a Ministry of Internal Affairs commission and that its report was to got to the procescutor was confirmed. However, the report was halted by, as was said, the highest authorities.

Kozlowski: 100 Interior Ministry Resignations

LD1110045590 Warsaw PAP in English 2306 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—More than one hundred members of the Interior Ministry leadership have resigned their posts prior to the personnel review in the ministry last summer, Interior Minister Krzysztof Kozlowski told reporters today.

He added that among those who had left were the whole generation of generals who took up other posts. It is my risk to trust them, he said, but it is also a risk to employ new ones.

Kozlowski stated that the review was a legal necessity. The present 130-person ministry controls the police, the Office for the Protection of the State, fire brigades and border guards that employ overall 140,000 people. Now, the ministry is planning to reform the border guard units and fire brigades.

Kozlowski said that the Office for the Protection of the State contained two departments: intelligence and counter-intelligence. The latter is to deal with such cases as terrorism, drug-trafficking, etc. He stressed that no political party or other groupings could be followed because of political reasons.

The minister told the reporters that under a warrant signed by the public prosecutor general, they had tapped some 100 phones and added that that had been necessary to follow operations of Polish-Soviet gangs and thieves who smuggled foreign cars. None of those cases was of a political character, he said.

Vice-Minister Jan Widacki said that the Council of Ministers would soon issue a decree on appointing local policemen and guards.

Arrests of Former Ministry Functionaries Reported

AU1110135190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 Oct 90 p 1

[Untitled Jerzy Jachowicz commentary]

[Text] An unprecedented thing has happened. Many former functionaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have been arrested. Among them is a man who in the 1980's held the highest party and state offices.

During the 1980's, the repressive battle with any manifestation of social independence was fought with particular ruthlessness.

The most dramatic event of those years was the murder of Father Popieluszko.

The arrests of Milewski, Ciaston, Platek, and others, show that in Poland the cardinal principle ought to be clear and unambiguous to everyone: Everyone who broke the law will be brought to trial and punished, and nobody who is innocent will be persecuted and victimized under the law.

Walesa's Adviser Criticizes Economic Policy

AU1110200390 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1914 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Vienna—During a visit to Vienna, Andrzej Micewski, chief adviser of Polish workers leader Walesa, harshly criticized the economic policy of the Warsaw government.

During his 13 months in office, Prime Minister Mazowiecki has not been able to implement the necessary and speedy privatization of the economy, Micewski pointed out. Poland is facing a "disaster." By the end of the year 1.3 million people are expected to be unemployed, Micewski said. On behalf of Lech Walesa, who is running for the office of president in the elections on 25 November, Micewski called for a radical policy of privatization with Western support, as well as for speedy new elections.

Ownership Minister Kuczynski Holds News Conference

LD1110215890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 gmt 11 Oct 90

[Text] A news conference by Waldemar Kuczynski, the new head of the Ministry of Ownership Transformation, has taken place.

[Unidentified correspondent] At the beginning of November, the ministry will publish a list of 14 enterprises which will be turned into single-unit state treasury companies. In the first quarter of next year about 200 enterprises will be made ready for privatization.

Minister Kuczynski criticized Lech Walesa's proposal of giving bonds, worth 1.1 billion zlotys, to every citizen. In the minister's opinion, the assets destined for privatization are very much smaller.

Center Alliance Conference Seeks New Constitution

LD1310220790 Warsaw PAP in English 1834 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 13—The Centre Alliance held a programmatic-organising conference with the participation of representatives of its 46 provincial bureaus in Laski, near Warsaw, between Oct. 12 and 13.

The conference firmly demanded that a new Polish constitution be adopted by a new parliament, to be formed in free and democratic elections. It also made a statement voicing concern about the government monopolistic control over mass media.

Justice Ministry in Conflict With Prison Service

AU1110095390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Oct 90 p 2

[Jerzy Jachowicz report: "Ministerial Reformers"]

[Text] There is an ongoing dispute between Pawel Moczydlowski, head of the prison service, and the higher echelons of the Ministry of Justice. The cause of the conflict arises from the Ministry of Justice's attempt to circumscribe the autonomy of the prison service. The Ministry of Justice intends to bring three divisions of the prison service under its administration, namely, personnel, welfare, and transport.

According to Moczydlowski, the sole aim of this reorganizaton is to incorporate the Central Administration of Penal Establishments [CZZK] and to transform it into a department of the Justice Ministry.

On Sunday [7 October], Pawel Moczydlowski told GAZETA WYBORCZA that, at the request of Justice Minister Bentkowski, he had withdrawn his written resignation which he had tendered on 3 October, but as far as he was concerned the matter remains wide open. If the ministry proceeds with its plans, he will resign.

"The proposal is unrealistic and shows a lack of understanding for the realities of the prison service. But the most worrying aspect is that the whole project was conceived and the people who are to be responsible for carrying it out were brought together behind my back. Zbigniew Moldawa, head of CZZK's legal-administration section, received an invitation from the new team and did not know what the meeting was about," said Moczydlowski.

In his 3 October administrative note to the head of the prison service, Moldawa wrote: "When I asked Lucja Korozs, chairperson of the commission about the future tasks of the commission, I received the reply that the team had been formed unofficially and that its tasks had not been put down in writing. It was formed at the oral request of 'ministry directors' and it was not just to occupy its time with the personnel, welfare, and transport policies."

"When Moldawa asked Korozs to name the 'ministry directors' he was informed that this information could not be divulged," says Moczydlowski.

On Friday, Jadwiga Skorzewska-Losiak, deputy minister of justice, told GAZETA WYBORCZA that the project to set up new administrative structures and form a working team was her idea. "I would not exaggerate the conflict aspect, because the team does not have the power to decide anything. It is preparing suggestions for future administrative changes and will present its recommendations for consideration," she said.

"The prison service must have the same status that other institutions forming the chain of justice have. Institutions like the police, the prosecutor's office, and the judiciary. Only true independence will ensure that the prison service is able to fulfill its duties and assure an element of legality. Until now, the prison service was treated as a vassal of the prosecutor's office, the police, and the courts. All too often in the past these institutions would require that the prison service treat the prisoners without respect for the law. I will punish any member of the prison service who oversteps the law, for drunkenness, and laziness, but I will not permit the downgrading of this important institution and its workers," concluded the head of the prison service.

Jaruzelski Meets Former World War II Pilots

LD1110173390 Warsaw PAP in English 1645 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 11—Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received General Stanislaw Skalski, an excellent fighter pilot during World War II, and a group of officers-pilots who took part in Poland's 1939 war of defence against Nazi Germany and next in the 1940 Battle of Britain as soldiers of the Polish Armed Forces in the West.

The interlocutors recalled participation of Polish air units in the hostilities on the Western front, particularly

in the air battle over Britain in 1940, whose 50th anniversary was observed recently. The president discussed combat merits of Polish pilots, their service after returning home when they took part in organizing and developing Polish air forces. Some of them were unjustly victimized in the 1950's and next returned to the service after being rehabilitated.

Wojciech Jaruzelski suggested that his guests should accompany him on a trip to a room commemorating General Wladyslaw Sikorski. The president and Gen. Sikorski's former subordinates saw an exhibition there featuring photographs from the years of military and state service of the Polish commander in chief and the prime minister of the Polish Government in exile.

President Jaruzelski laid a bunch of flowers at the foot of Gen. Sikorski's bust.

New Army Daily Launched; Deemed 'Apolitical'

LD1210163890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] The first issue of the POLSKA ZBROJNA [Poland Under Arms], a new Polish Army daily paper, comes out today. The editor in chief, Jerzy Slacki, writes that the editorial team wishes POLSKA ZBROJNA to be an interesting paper, read both by the Army and by civilians. We also want the paper to be apolitical in the sense that it won't be a party to any kind of conflict of a political nature, a mouthpiece of a specific line, or the tribune of a particular party or group, he adds. The POLSKA ZBROJNA, conceived in terms of the principle of pluralism, ought to present various options and programs, leaving the reader with the possibility of choosing between them. In the first issue, readers will find an interview with Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz; a message from the Polish Veterans' Chaplain, Bishop Zbigniew Kraszewski; and best wishes sent to the editorial team by Rear Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczsyk, minister for national defense, that customers will have a good read.

Sejm Committee Examines Gulf Crisis Effects

LD1110034990 Warsaw PAP in English 1826 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—"The government's policy towards the conflict in the Persian Gulf meets with the approval of the Sejm (lower house) Foreign Affairs Committee," said Bronislaw Geremek, the chairman of the comittee, at the end of a session devoted to this topic today.

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski stated that Poland's stand on the crisis was that it should be settled by political means, though military solutions could not be excluded. Regardless of the way of putting an end to the conflict, the Polish Foreign Ministry will strive for minimizing the economic losses.

Estimates show that this year's losses will amount to some $1 billion. Next year's losses, including the loss of expected profits and the necessity to increase oil purchases on the free market, are estimated to reach as much as $1.8 billion.

For Poland the most painful consequences of the blockade of Iraq are in the fuel economy. Iraq has not delivered the 750,000 tonnes of oil which it owes Poland as part of payment of its $500 million debt. Poland has already started seeking new deliverers—it is to receive 600,000 tonnes of oil from Iran this year and 2-3 million tonnes next year at world prices.

However, the situation is not clear due to the unconfirmed volumes of oil supplies from the USSR as well as unstable oil prices on the free market. If they stay at some $30 per barrel, Poland will be able to make up for the gap from the surplus in its foreign trade which has reached $3 billion after three quarters of this year.

Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki stressed that each rise in the price of a barrel by $10 would cause a rise of budget spending by $1 billion per year.

Minister Majewski pointed out that Poland's policy towards the conflict was guided by reason and cautiousness manifested in a swift withdrawal of several thousand Poles from Iraq (911 still remaining there) and from Kuwait (four remaining) and in sending a ship-hospital to the Gulf region. Poland's greater commitment is not being considered now.

The minister announced that a new Polish ambassador will be sent to Iraq soon.

The committee unanimously accepted candidates for ambassadors: Jerzy Lukaszewicz—an economist, specialist in international law and rector of the European College in Burges and Stanislaw Godzinski—scientific staffer at the Institute of Oriental Studies at Warsaw University.

Iranian Crude Oil Unloaded at Gdansk 10 Oct

LD1110100190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] In the northern port at Gdansk, a Japanese tanker has unloaded 71,000 tonnes of crude oil from Iran. Three other ships are to arrive there by the end of next week with identical loads. The crude is intended for the Plock and Gdansk refineries. Further supplies have been announced. The transshipment capacities of the port are great—they reach 8 million tonnes of fuel per annum.

Imported Iranian Oil Unsuitable for Processing

LD1110204990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1804 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] We return to everyday economic life. Zbigniew Buraczynski reports from Plock.

[Buraczynski] I have been informed at the Mazowieckie Refineries and Petro-Chemical Works in Plock that the previously purchased 130,000 tonnes of heavy Iranian oil are not suitable for processing. That is also why the fluid raw material, containing somewhat excessive amounts of sulphur, must now be mixed and diluted with oil coming from the North Sea, recently purchased by Poland and supplied by tanker to Gdansk. This coming Monday [15 October], it is anticipated, the mixture of two types of fluid raw material will finally begin being processed by the Plock Petro-Chemical Works, although at the moment, it is still difficult to anticipate the qualitative results of the oil-derived products this produces. Experts from the Mazowieckie Refineries and Petro-Chemical Works are optimistic and hope that the poorer-quality goods purchased, which were not suitable for processing, will meet technoloical norms and requirements after the necessary improvement.

Ministry Protests to USSR Over Tourist Beatings

LD1110194490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] The Foreign Ministry has demanded satisfactory compensation for our citizens in a protest handed to the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw in connection with an incident at the border-crossing in Szeginia. Soviet officials there beat up Polish tourists.

Official Contacts With Russia Restored

LD1210231190 Warsaw PAP in English 2225 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, 12 Oct—After many years Poland and Russia have renewed their official contacts with head of the Polish diplomacy paying a visit to the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation. Earlier, Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski was received by USSR's President Mikhail Gorbachev.

"In reply to President Gorbachev's question I presented our point of view concerning the development of European cooperation," Skubiszewski said. "I particularly referred to the evolution of the Helsinki process and the issues of security. I presented in detail the achievements and difficulties of the Polish economic reform. Gorbachev pointed out that the success of our reform was of great importance for what is going on in the USSR.

"I also spoke about certain international threats to the Polish economy: our losing the market of the former GDR, the Gulf crisis, the turn to settlements in convertible currency, the reduction of Soviet fuel deliveries. In reply to the latter issue, the president explained the USSR's difficult situation.

"Later on, we decided to start talks on our mutual debts. We also referred to my three-and-a-half-hour talk with Eduard Shevardnadze on a new Polish-Soviet treaty," Skubiszewski said in conclusion.

In a brief talk with reporters, President Gorbachev said that the recent years had brought the Polish-Soviet relations full of mutual respect and friendship. "I hope," he said, "that despite the current developments in the Soviet Union and Poland we will be able to control the situation. Generally speaking I fully trust the Poles," he added.

In the wake of his talk with Gorbachev, Skubiszewski began a "Russian" stage of his visit during which he conferred with Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev, his deputy Nikolay Malishev and Russia's new foreign minister Andrey Kozirev. While discussing the Polish-Russian relations the sides agreed they should be based on a declaration on friendship and good-neighbourly cooperation. The sides are expected to sign the document at the conclusion of Skubiszewski's Soviet visit.

"What is most important is that we want to sign economic agreements and establish economic relations with the Russian Republic," Skubiszewski said.

"Today, I have discussed very concrete issues of economic relations between the Polish and Soviet border regions. These issues were touched upon during my talks with Minister Shevardnadze," Skubiszewski added. The heads of the Polish and Soviet diplomacy had met earlier. Talks of three working groups were held simultaneously.

A press conference in Moscow was briefed on an agreement on additional food deliveries from Poland to the USSR in exchange for 1.4 billion cubic metres of Soviet gas. The 120-million-dollar contract is a short-term credit granted by Poland to the Soviet Union.

Polish National Regions in Lithuania Proclaimed

AU1110100390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Oct 90 p 1

["Lai"-signed report: "A Polish Country in Lithuania"]

[Text] The Vilnius and Soletsnikiy regions with several other districts in the Troki and Svetyanskiy regions are now Polish National-Territorial Regions within the Lithuanian Republic. This was the decision adopted by Polish delegates from the Vilnius region at their congress in Ejszyszyki on 6 October. Exactly 209 deputies voted for the motion. There were no votes against. The decision is supported by the Association of Poles in Lithuania.

Polish national regions will guarantee the equality of the Polish and Lithuanian language, which means that Polish will now be used alongside Lithuanian, the official language in administration, the courts, and schools.

The Lithuanian parliament will consider this development when it receives the text of the declaration that has been forwarded for its approval. It may decide that this is an acceptable compromise. There was a previous project to create a Polish Autonomous Republic, which would be directly subordinate to the USSR authorities.

The project was severely criticized by the presidium of the Lithuanian Parliament last Thursday. If such a plan had been adopted it would have be a repetition of what recently happened in the Moldova-Gagauz region where the Russian speaking minority recently proclaimed a Gagauz Autonomous Republic subordinated directly to the USSR central government.

Lithuanian Minority Problems Reported

AU1110134490 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Oct 90 p 3

["Pol"-signed report: "Jagiello Talks With the Lithuanians"]

[Text] The meeting between the Polish and Lithuanian ministers of culture held in Punsk on 3 October was to have centered on the situation of the Lithuanian minority in Poland. However, the discussion concentrated on Polish-Lithuanian disputes in Lithuania. Issues of conflict between Poles and Lithuanians in Lithuania should be resolved on the spot between the directly interested parties, said Jan Sienkiewicz, chairman of the Association of Poles in Lithuania. Third parties would exploit Polish-Lithuanian antagonisms, he added. Minister of Culture Darius Kuolys (at 28 years, the youngest member of Prime Minister Pruskienes' cabinet), said quite openly that it was the KGB that was stirring up anti-Polish and anti-Lithuanian sentiments.

He rejected the claim that Lithuania had been following a policy of de-Polonization. In Lithuania, there are 44 Polish schools and 66 schools that offer Polish lessons. Not all Poles in Lithuania demonstrate loyalty to the Lithuanian Government. These Poles are striving for political autonomy and this is "clearly against the interests of the Lithuanian state," said the minister.

The Lithuanian authorities are waiting for a courageous and clear statement by the Polish Government on Lithuania's independence, he stated.

The representatives of the 30,000-strong Lithuanian community in Poland talked about their grievances. In the Punsk district which has 5,000 Poles and which is 80-percent Lithuanian, Lithuanian amateur artistic groups are having to work in very poor conditions. They often have to rehearse in barns.

Eight junior schools in the Punsk region and the Punsk high school are experiencing a shortage of books and school exercise books (after World War II, not a single book in Lithuanian was published in Poland).

Minister Jagiello promised that the ministry would contribute to the project to build a Lithuanian cultural center in Punsk. The ministry already heavily finances the monthly journal AUSZTRA.

Polish policy towards its national minorities is just one indicator of Poland's European standards, stated Jagiello.

Slovak's Premier Meciar Pays 3-Day Official Visit

Mazowiecki Receives Slovak Premier

LD1110045290 Warsaw PAP in English 2319 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—Premier of the Slovak Republic Vladimir Meciar began today a three-day official visit to Poland. He told reporters at the airport that that was his first foreign trip. "The fact that I am paying my visit to Poland shows how important the relations with your country are to us," he added.

In the wake of talks with the Slovak premier, head of the Polish Government Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that they had mainly discussed the further expanding of mutual cooperation through removing of all barriers that still existed.

The Slovak visitor added that among other topics there were possibilities for further profitable economic cooperation, tourist and border traffic. He said he expected the two sides to sign definite agreements and accords on Thursday [11 Oct].

Commenting on his talks with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, the Slovak premier said he wanted to point to the fact that there were no matters at issue between the two nations. "Unfortunately, the communist authorities succeeded in presenting Poles as ideological enemies and hawkers. What our nation fears is that, in this difficult economic situation, Poles could come and buy up our market. However, we want to do everything to remove those barriers."

Later in the day, the Slovak premier held a meeting with Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz.

Conducts Talks With Mazowiecki

LD1110095490 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2100 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] At the end of the first day of the visit of the Slovak Government delegation to Poland, Premier Vladimir Meciar met Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki for talks lasting over 90 minutes. We asked both representatives to comment on new posibilities for mutual cooperation following their talks:

[Begin Mazowiecki recording in Polish, fading into Czech translation] We discussed ways to intensify and develop our mutual cooperation and to remove all obstacles in its path. I think that our countries have much in common in the sphere of economy, and also in the issues of culture, which we will discuss tomorrow. We would like to see an agreement on culture; an agreement on Polish and Slovak television cooperation was signed. We also want to intensify economic relations and cooperation between our enterprises. [end recording]

[Begin Meciar recording] Naturally, apart from the political sphere, we devoted much time to the issue of possibilities of economic cooperation. These efforts are aimed at the future: It should be the base for cooperation for a number of years, for example in raw materials, oil, gas, and electricity. We also spoke about the issues of developing mutual trade. For example, we received an offer to purchase potatoes, flour, sugar beets, of which Poland has too much while we are in short supply at home. We also discussed issues which are not connected with the economy: Culture, border contacts, tourism, currency exchange, exchange rates, and everything that could help cooperation between Poland and Czechoslovakia, and within Czechoslovakia, the Slovak Republic. I see these talks as very useful.

Tomorrow, the topics which we have agreed upon will be discussed by working groups. I think that tomorrow should bring specific long-term programs and conclusions. We have been working intensely all day without breaks, and therefore I think that the results will be corresponding. [end recording]

Meets With Vice Premier Janowski

LD1110130890 Warsaw PAP in English 1114 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 11—Slovakia's Premier Vladimir Meciar, now in the second day of his official visit to Poland, today met with Vice Premier Jan Janowski.

The two discussed possibilities of expanding cooperation in the field of culture and education and improving information about both nations.

Examines Ties With Janowski

LD1110154590 Prague CTK in English 1415 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw Oct 11 (CTK correspondent)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, who continued here today his three-day visit to Poland, said during a meeting with Polish Deputy Prime Minister Jan Janowski that until the Czechoslovak economic situation is not stabilized, unlimited crossing of Czechoslovak-Polish frontiers is impossible. [sentence as received]

Mr. Meciar added that Slovakia would not like to face a situation similar to that of Austria where 16,000 Polish citizens dominated the black market before the recent elections.

During the talks, the Polish side proposed narrowing of the differences between the educational systems of the two countries and free movement of students between universities.

Both officials also discussed the situation of the Slovaks living in the south of Poland.

The possibilities of the development of mutual cultural relations were also assessed.

The Polish side does not consider just the view that the marginal part of Polish society shapes opinions on the 37 million of Poles. It thinks that economic reforms and price increases will solve the current problems in tourism.

Afterwards the Slovak premier visited the Polish Parliament.

Economic Agreements With CSFR Initialed

LD1210224390 Warsaw PAP in English 1650 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 12—Representatives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Trade have agreed to and initialled the texts of:

—An agreement between the governments of the Republic of Poland and Czech and Slovak Federative Republic on trade and payment relations,

—A protocol on regulating mutual dues and obligations in payment relations in connection with the switching to clearings in convertible currencies as of next January 1.

Under initialled documents clearings will be made in convertible currencies and economic subjects will freely fix the terms of deliveries of goods and servises and the procedure of payment.

The documents also provide for the principles of regulating the hitherto mutual dues and obligations.

Slovak Premier, Others Open Warsaw Talks

LD1110093190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Petr Lukes report on first day of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's official visit in Warsaw; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] It was the first time that the Slovak anthem has been played in Warsaw. It was also the first time that the Slovak flag could be seen at Warsaw airport next to the Czechoslovak and Polish flags. The Polish and the Slovak nation do not share only a border. Poland and our republics also face also similar problems, and with regard to the future have similar plans. Some of these were discussed in a specific way at the meeting of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar with Polish Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz, along with experts from both sides. For example, part of the talks was devoted to joint investment in the construction of a north-south transit system. Leszek Balcerowicz said that this was an operation of European significance, and Poland and Slovakia have vested interest in its implementation. This important issue will be discussed further at other talks in Warsaw.

At talks held at the Foreign Ministry, the head of Polish diplomacy, Professor Skubiszewski, put forward an

interesting proposal: To create an association between Bratislava, Warsaw, and Kiev. Premier Meciar supported this idea.

The most-discussed problem of these days—the restoration of small-scale border contacts—has been mentioned in Warsaw. The greatest obstacles are economic in nature. The Slovak premier spoke above all about the need for a realistic exchange rate between the Polish zloty and the Czechoslovak korunna, and about the problems which could arise in supplies.

Deputy Premier Balcerowicz emphasized the importance of restoration of normal contacts between Poland and Czechoslovakia, mainly with regard to the prospects for future bilateral relations. Vladimir Meciar informed the Polish side that in the next few days Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa will put forward proposals on how to deal with this problem. The important thing, Vladimir Meciar added, is to make as many holes as possible into the iron curtain which has been separating our country since 1981.

At this moment the Slovak premier is having talks at the Council of Ministers with Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Onyszkiewicz Assesses Pact Disarmament Meeting

LD1110043690 Warsaw PAP in English 2142 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Prague, Oct. 10—Poland's Deputy Defence Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz assessing the 3rd round of negotiations of Warsaw Treaty's Extraordinary Commission for Disarmament which ended in Prague today, said:

Quotas granted to us correspond with our demands, we received what we wanted to receive. I would rather not speak about concrete numbers at the moment, for they still may alter.

We will have less tanks than two years ago, but I am confident that my ministry will be able to justify the need to possess such a number of tanks.

Hungarian Message of Protest Initiates Reaction

Foreign Ministry Responds

AU1310212590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Romania's Foreign Ministry asked ROMPRES to publish the verbal message forwarded to the Romanian Embassy in Budapest by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian Republic.

After expressing satisfaction with the New York meeting between the Hungarian and the Romanian foreign ministers, the message mentions the fact that all possible means have been studied to stimulate bilateral cooperation. The competent Romanian authorities' attention, however, is drawn to the evidently negative manifestations which provoke unrest and incite hatred. These actions are at odds with the Hungarian practices and the Romanian official declarations, and have been made mostly in the press and other mass media, where excessive declarations have sometimes been made by public personalities on behalf of certain parties and organizations.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry's message mentions the fact that the Romanian side tolerates the legal activity of certain fascist or chauvinistic people and organizations, which take actions without being punished and promote hatred for everything that is foreign—that is, Hungarian, Jewish, or Gypsy. Then, some items in some Romanian publications are mentioned, which accuse the Hungarian foreign policy of Stalinism, imperialist [word indistinct], and revisionist aspirations, and make tendentious interpretations of Hungarian official political declarations.

The message says that the Ministry of the Hungarian Republic is aware of the fact that it is not possible to directly influence the freedom of expressing an opinion. One, however, cannot understand the fact that up to now, the Romanian side has not found the ways and means to detach itself from extremist manifestations and speak out against forces which instigate hatred between races, religions, and ethnic groups. All of these facts are also very disturbing because, according to information received by the Hungarian side, these obscure forces which act in Romania wish to use the events of 6 October, the Arad commemoration of the martyrs of our fight for freedom, the Hungarian Republic's national day on 23 October, and other anniversaries to instigate anti-Hungarian feelings and provoke serious clashes. The Romanian side is asked to do all it can to stop the actions of these forces and prevent their planned actions. If not, the entire responsibility will rest with the Romanian side, says the message of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry.

In the responding message from the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, consternation is expressed with the moment chosen by the Hungarian side to forward this message, with its content, and with its tone.

After the talks held between the foreign ministers of the two countries in New York, the Romanian side had the impression that a better understanding of each government's position had been reached, as well as a joint conclusion that both sides should continue efforts to develop bilateral relations. The claims included in the Hungarian message are considered to be absolutely unfounded; furthermore, the realistic proposals of the Romanian side are mentioned, proposals which are meant to bring about a positive note in the relations between the two countries. The response also stresses the fact that Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, expressed his willingness to meet with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz to discuss the aspects of the Romanian-Hungarian relations, an idea which was rejected by the Hungarians. The official claims that Hungary wants normal relations of good-neighborliness with Romania are considered as having not been supported by any concrete actions whatsoever. So far, the Romanian side cannot help but see that, as far as sincere and frank cooperation is concerned, there is only a persistent monologue, in the hope that the Hungarian partners will quickly give up making conditions and demands that have no prospects.

The Romanian Foreign Ministry regrets that it witnessed numerous actions—such as the message to which this is a response—which hamper the mutual cooperation and obstruct the establishment of normal relations between the two states. It is the Hungarian side that abuses the freedom of travel to Romania—ensured after the December revolution. Furthermore, it is the Hungarians who encourage massive moves of Hungarian citizens to Romania to participate in various anniversary celebrations—the latest on 6 October 1990 in Arad—which, in each instance, generated actions of national hatred, excesses, and manifestations which hurt the national feelings of the Romanian people and which inevitably generated reactions from the Romanian population.

The so-called accusations against the Hungarian policy—carried in the Romanian press in an article signed by the Romanian Foreign Minister—are formulated exclusively on the basis of the official stand expressed by certain persons with the highest responsibility in the Hungarian state, declarations which have increased in a disturbing way. In this context, the Romanian parliamentary declaration on 29 August 1990 is mentioned, which, among other things, calls on all citizens of the country to show a constructive spirit and moderation. The numerous public declarations made by the country's president and prime minister, which condemn all kind of extremist manifestations in Romania, are also mentioned.

The Romanian Foreign Ministry, however, has not yet heard of any clear-cut declarations from the current Hungarian Government, condemning extremist manifestations in Hungary.

The response note also mentions that Romania's Foreign Ministry informs the Hungarian Foreign Ministry that, in the future, any diplomatic step or document, in which this country will allow itself to draw attention to things or to use other such formulations, will be clearly rejected.

The Romanian Foreign Ministry also stresses on this occasion the ardent need for the Hungarian side to renounce such provoking actions and start, as it declares, progressing on the road of constructive dialogue and of good-neighborliness.

In this respect, concrete answers continue to be expected to our numerous initiatives which seek to bring about the clearing of the atmosphere in the bilateral relations and direct them on a constructive road.

Foreign Ministry Reacts to Message

AU1410182590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2153 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/10/1990—Romania's Foreign Affairs Ministry reacted with consternation at the verbal note relayed to the Romanian Embassy in Budapest on 5 October 1990 by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, at the moment the Hungarian side chose to relay it, at its content and tone.

The verbal note has been sent at a moment when, after the talks held in New York by the foreign ministers of the two countries, the Romanian side had the impression that each government's stand had been better understood, and that the conclusion had been reached that both sides must continue the efforts towards developing bilateral relations. But the verbal note gives birth to serious doubts that the present Hungarian Government really wishes to dissipate the tension between the two countries and set the relations between them on the sound foundation of the principles of international law enshrined in the CSCE final act. Besides an incorrect approach to the evolution of bilateral relations, fully groundless accusations are formulated against the state authorities and political organizations in Romania. Unfortunately, this is not the first time when, after the December 1989 revolution, the hand stretched with generosity and friendship by the Romanian side is met with an unacceptable arrogance.

The Hungarian Foreign Affairs Ministry insinuates that the Romanian side's wish to develop bilateral relations "would not be backed by tangible facts" and opines equally insinuantly that the ties between the two states could be normalized "to the extent to which, beyond the publicly stated wish, Romania would unabatedly follow the European principles both in point of international action and its foreign policy, and would indubitably fulfil the obligations freely assumed under various international documents". These assessments are absolutely groundless. Undoubtedly, the Hungarian side remembers that the working meetings at the level of foreign ministry secretaries of state of July 1990 had been possible only because of the particular insistance of the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry, and that during those meetings the Romanian side advanced a package of proposals, realistic in its opinion, apt to give a positive impetus to the links between the two countries. It is again the Romanian side which insists that the talks should continue to the end of finalizing an accord on the measures covenanted on the occasion. Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, expressed his readiness to meet with the president of the Republic of Hungary, Arpad Goncz, to survey the Romanian-Hungarian relations in general, an idea rejected by the Hungarian side. These are just a few tangible facts. Unfortunately, besides two or three unfulfilled exigencies, obsessively mentioned by the Hungarian side and which actually are not linked directly to the development of the relations between the two countries the official assessments that Hungary wants normal relations of good neighbourliness with Romania are those which are not backed by tangible facts. For the time being, the Romanian side notes that as fas as a sincere and open cooperation is concerned, it monologizes insistently hoping that the Hungarian partners will give up conditions and pretentions with no perspective as soon as possible.

It would be interesting to know what the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Ministry understands through "European principles" and through "obligations freely assumed under various international documents". The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs maintains that Romania fulfills its international obligations in good faith in keeping with the international law. If the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Ministry has the impression as the verbal seems to imply that the Romanian side does not abide by "European principles" or does not fulfil an obligation it has assumed, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs would be thankful were it to be informed which these principles and obligations are. Through "European principles" the Romanian side understands the decalogue of the principles which should govern the relations among the CSCE participating states enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act.

[Passage indistinct] or, speaking about those principles, one can easily see that certain official stands and pretensions regarding the status of the Hungarian minority in Romania are incompatible with "European principles", especially with principles I, IV and VI of the abovementioned decalogue.

The Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs also asserts that "as far as it is concerned, it has used all the means at its disposal to promote this bilateral collaboration". We must say with regret that the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs could find in any of the actions taken by the present Hungarian Government no elements to support that assertion; but it could find many actions—among which the verbal note which we are now answering—which hamper mutual collaboration, prevent the establishment of normal relations between the two states.

Running counter to reality to the same extent is also the assertion in the verbal note according to which indubitable events take place in Romania "which, giving birth to troubles and inciting to hatred, are contrary both to the Hungarian practice and to the Romanian official statements" [sentence as received]. Reality is quite opposite. The Hungarian side is the one which, abusing of the freedom of circulation in Romania after the December revolution, encouraged massive movement of Hungarian citizens to Romania "to commemorate" various events the latest being on October 6, 1990 in Arad which

every time generated acts of national feud, excesses and wounded the Romanian people's national feelings, inevitably leading to reactions on behalf of the Romanian population. The Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs takes the liberty to accuse the Romanian Government through insulting assertions that "the Romanian side tolerates the legal activity of fascist, even chauvinistic individuals and organisations which are acting without punishment and promoting hatred for everything foreign, that is Hungarian, Jewish or Romany". If those reproaches are to be made to somebody who "wishes to join a Europe which has long ago left behind the nationalism age", then they should be made to the present Hungarian Government which, as regards its relations with Romania at least, seems to have no other behaviour than the nationalist one.

In that context the verbal note also makes reference to "the unspeakable statements" which "Free Europe" radio station attributed to Senator Gelu Voican Voiculescu in connection with which the Hungarian side says it has convincing proofs but it does not give any of them and which were clearly denied by the Romanian senator, as well as to certain articles put out in the Romanian press appreciated as "inciting, shameful, of fascist colour". Of course that, in the conditions of the press freedom after the December revolution, the Romanian Government cannot be held responsible for various articles and stands taken by the press. However, similar articles have been put out and are still putting out in the Hungarian press, becoming genuine anti-Romanian press campaigns, but the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not hold the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs responsible for such a thing. And it hopes it makes no mistake.

The verbal note makes reference to the article put out in the August 30 issue of "LUMEA AZI". The Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs notes the fact that the Hungarian side deliberately ignores that the author of that article is the Romanian minister of foreign affairs so that it took the liberty of qualifications not used in interstate relations against the Romanian policy. The so-called "accusations" in that article concerning the Hungarian policy are based exclusively on official stances of highly responsible persons in the Hungarian state and the number of such statements alarmingly increased, causing the publication of that article. The Romanian side would be grateful if the Hungarian side informed it about those statements made by Hungarian officials who had not been well understood and "tendentiously interpreted".

Contrary to real facts, the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs asserts "it cannot understand that, until now, the Romanian side has not found out those means and modalities to detach itself from the extremist events always manifest in Romania and, in consensus with its international obligations and in keeping with the law, to declare against those forces inciting to racial, religious and ethnical hatred". It is hard to believe that the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs could have overlooked the declaration of Romanian Parliament on August 29, 1990 which made an appeal to all citizens "to prove constructive spirit and moderation", as well as the numerous public statements made by the country's president and the prime minister which condemned any kind of extremist manifestations in Romania. On the other hand, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has not seen until now any clear statement of the present Hungarian Government which detached itself from the extremist events "always manifest" in Hungary.

The verbal note reaches its insolence climax when speaking about "obscure forces acting in Romania" which "want to use the October 6 Arad commemoration of the martyrs of our fight for freedom, the October 23 anniversary of the national day of the Republic of Hungary, as well as other events for inciting to anti-Hungarian feelings, provocations and grave conflicts". Since when, in keeping with "European principles", the citizens of a country are marking their national anniversaries on another country's territory? The Romanian Government's excessive tolerance of the marking in Romania of certain days the Hungarian Government declared anniversaries, including the massive participation of Hungary's citizens, proved to be counterproductive; the natural reaction to the insults made to the Romanian people's national feelings, which have always accompanied such commemorations, is attributed to the "obscure forces" in Romania, while, in fact, those forces are in Hungary and they are not quite obscure.

In a genuinely arrogant attitude, the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs takes the liberty "to seriously draw the Romanian side's attention" on what it considers that the Romanian Government should do. Is it a new European standard in diplomatic language? Anyhow, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not recognise it and cannot accept it as a communication language between the two sovereign and independent states. Because such a language does not appear for the first time in the diplomatic correspondence sent to the Romanian side by the Hungarian side, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs wishes to inform the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that, in future, any diplomatic demarche or document where it would dare "to draw attention" or use similar language will be rejected de plano.

Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs notes that the unacceptable stance and appreciations in the verbal note of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs raise new obstacles in the path of good neighbourliness, of normal collaboration, and prejudice the dialogue which the Romanian side wants as it has fully proved to be based on mutual respect, in accord with the fundamental exigencies of international law, of European civilization.

Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasises on this occasion, too, the imperative necessity that the Hungarian side renounce such provocative actions and embark, as it declares, upon the path of constructive dialogue and good neighbourliness. To this end, we are still waiting for concrete answers to our numerous initiatives meant to contribute to improving the atmosphere

of bilateral relations and to starting constructive dialogue, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs writes in conclusion.

Delegate Addresses UN Financial Committee

AU1210132290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0952 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/10/1990—The deep political and economic changes undergone by East European countries facilitate their more active and constructive participation in international life, with a positive impact on the world economy, Romania representative Ion Barac stated, during the UN Economic and Financial Committee debates.

The Romanian representative said that regional and subregional approaches may stimulate the positive course of European events, giving the example of the Balkan countries with their old traditions of cooperation and common interests.

Referring to the events in Romania, the speaker said that the December revolution had not only overthrown dictatorship and reformed a government but also changed the social and political system as a whole, by breaking away with the past. The Romanian people took a firm and irreversible pledge to guarantee and observe human rights, and establish a multi-party democratic system and a market economy based on private ownership.

The passage to a market economy policy, the speaker said, also depends on a favourable international climate. Unfortunately, the Gulf crisis deeply affects Romania, due to rising crude prices and to 2.9 billion dollars estimated losses through joining the international embargo against Iraq.

On the same occasion the speaker underlined Romania's interest in the measures announced by IMF and IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—World Bank] in support of the countries affected by the Gulf crisis, as well as its satisfaction with the "Phare" economic assistance programme of the Group of 24. The future cooperation agreement between Romania and the EEC will increase exchanges between the two parties and is, in Romania's view, a first step towards joining the Common Market, the speaker concluded.

Iliescu Issues Message on New York Visit

AU1210175190 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 6 Oct 90 pp 1, 4

[President Ion Iliescu statement to correspondent Stefan Mitroi in New York: "President Iliescu Addresses TINERETUL LIBER Readers"]

[Text] "To begin with, I would like to express my pleasure at the opportunity to address myself to TINERETUL LIBER readers. I have always had a great fondness for the young generation in general, and for its press. I was glad to hear that your paper had a direct representative here, in New York, to attend the first part of the World Summit for Children, which was a political event of great importance, marked by the presence of 70 heads of state and government, and which actually discussed the problems of mankind's future. Consequently, I believe that the meeting was considered to be an outstanding political event.

As far as I am concerned, my presence here was an opportunity to make our message public and to present the concern of Romania's current leadership with the fate and future of children; it was also an opportunity for comprehensive contacts with other heads of state and with leaders of various children's organizations throughout the world. I also participated in the UN General Assembly session, which had a particular significance; it is our first presence here after the December revolution.

The session has actually marked this moment as a world political event—namely, the changes which are occurring throughout the world following the changes currently taking place in Eastern Europe. The face of Europe and the world is changing as well as the logic of international politics. The bloc policy is outdated; it is being replaced by a real policy of international cooperation, in which the United Nations and its institutions have played a more active role. This aspect was emphasized by almost all heads of state who took the floor and in the secretary general's report.

At the same time, the events in the Gulf have emphasized the important role that can be played by the world organization. The session particularly valued the activity carried out by Romania's representative as chairman of the Security Council at a crucial time—namely last August, when six resolutions were adopted. The session positively assessed Romania's position as a state, as well as the position of the country's government and political leadership toward these events, a position which asserts the principles that Romania is striving to promote today in the world: a broad opening, the defense and development of the democratic principles of relations among states, and observance of the UN Charter provisions. It, therefore, was an opportunity for an active presence by our country at two international events. At the same time, our presence here was an occasion for multiple contacts with politicians, businessmen, cultural figures, U.S. Government representatives, heads of state, representatives of various New York communities, including our Diaspora, which is the representatives of the Romanian emigration."

This statement was exclusively made to our special correspondent in New York.

Nastase Interviewed on Visit to New York

AU1210113590 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 7 Oct 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase by Dumitru Tinu; place and date not given: "Let Us Rid Ourselves of Complexes"; first paragraph is ADEVARUL introduction]

[Text] New York was the center of world diplomacy this fall. It hosted the UN General Assembly session—a particularly important session because it was the first one after overcoming European division and after the end of East-West confrontation; the World Summit for Children; and the ministerial meeting of the countries participating in the CSCE process (initiated by the CSCE), all of which rallied numerous chiefs of states and governments, as well as foreign ministers from all over the world. Romania was represented in the two first events at the highest level by President Ion Iliescu. In his turn, Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase participated in the meeting at the Jacok Javits Center in preparation for the all-European summit conference in Paris (19-21 November), as well as in various other meetings held in New York in the past weeks.

[Tinu] This has been a genuine diplomatic marathon. Mr. Minister, what do these events mean for Romania?

[Nastase] The opportunity to participate in a number of meetings which, in one way or another, outline the dimension of current concerns in world policy. The first of these meetings was the Security Council meeting, organized for the first time at the foreign ministerial level, which adopted Resolution 670 regarding the situation in the Gulf. As far as I am concerned, I participated in all meetings which took place in New York during this time. I also had contacts with numerous foreign ministers from Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America in an effort to work out better opportunities for bilateral cooperation. A thorough and comprehensive dialogue took place within the framework of the CSCE ministerial meeting, which was an opportunity to specify common viewpoints on the preparation of the summit conference in Paris. I also participated and presented our country's position at the meeting of the Group of 77, of the ministers of nonaligned countries, at another meeting organized by the countries of the so-called Rio Group and the Group of contact with the Eastern European countries, and at a working meeting of the ministers of the Balkan countries. A meeting of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states also took place during this time.

[Tinu] Do you have the impression that presenting Romania's position from the rostrum of such important meetings, and the talks you conducted personally made developments in our country better understood?

[Nastase] In my opinion, yes. We have reached a stage in which we have changed the direction of our movement; I mean something similar to when the automobile switches from reverse into first gear. Maybe this is the most difficult moment. This, because a negative opinion persists. The only way to persuade people that there are new facts and that Romania has a new identity is dialogue. I think we have begun to achieve this. During the discussions—and I want to add that some of them were also attended by Professor Sorin Botez, deputy of the National Liberal Party, and Senator Ioan Babos—I often noticed positive reactions. The change in the way we approach things, in our language, and our willingness for contacts and dialogue were obvious with whom we spoke. From this point of view, the lengthy talks conducted with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, and with other ministers, facilitated a better understanding of the domestic mechanisms which determine the foreign policy attitude.

[Tinu] Speaking of the meeting with the Hungarian foreign minister, I recall from the report on it and from our press that the problem of ethnic minorities was dealt with at length, a problem which is actually part of the human dimension of European security. The Hungarian side once again emphasized the differences which exist in terms of an approach, with Budapest insisting on a "great leap," while Bucharest believes that it is important to progress, even with small steps for a start. That means that a step forward has been taken—a big or a small one?

[Nastase] We are talking of two things here. First, I conducted a talk with Minister Jeszenszky which was sincere and frank. As far as I am concerned, I told him exactly how we view bilateral relations and the necessary elements to ease off existing tensions in these relations. It was obvious that there are great differences in our viewpoints, but, as I have said, our discussions were very sincere; this seems essential to me. It is certainly important for us not to propose a great leap by all possible means, to use the Hungarian formula, which, in fact, aims at reopening the consulate in Cluj and "Bolyai" University. For us, what is most important is the creation of a framework of cooperation which will bring about a change in a certain mentality and existent suspicion. I am referring to the sensitivity of Romanians in connection with this double standard of appreciation of the minority problem by the Hungarian side. On the one hand, positive messages at an official level and, on the other, constant propaganda and incorrect approaches to the situation of the Hungarian minority in our country. Second, there is the speech delivered by the Hungarian foreign minister at the UN General Assembly. What surprised me was the great weight given to ethnic minorities issues and the affirmation of certain concepts which I personally do not view as justified.

[Tinu] For the sake of accuracy, we have to specify that the Hungarian minister did not refer to Romania.

[Nastase] Yes, and this is a positive element. His speech was a presentation of principles. I believe that we have to engage in a discussion of ideas within the framework in which we must present our viewpoints. I want to say that, at the CSCE ministerial meeting in New York, I supported the Hungarian proposal on organizing a meeting of experts on ethnic minorities in order to work out a European standard on minority issues. We have started to create, and have already created, very high standards on the rights of minorities and, compared with Hungary and other countries, we have no reason to have complexes. In fact, in Copenhagen we proposed the formulation of a code which would include the rights of ethnic minorities, and a similar proposal was made for the Balkans. What we have in mind is the clarification and formulation of such standards at the European level

and not the creation of special—different—standards with Hungary. We will, therefore, eliminate tendentious interpretations in connection with the situation of Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin. We, therefore, have to have an open and very constructive attitude, without taking a defensive position all the time.

[Tinu] Summing up, what would be the directions of action in Romania's diplomacy?

[Nastase] Europe is undoubtedly our main interest. From this point of view, we are very interested in the preparations for the summit conference in Paris. All developments in Europe concern us in one way or another, and we have to bear in mind that the rapid changes actually outstrip any scenarios which are being worked out. I am talking of German unification and the new configuration at the level of military blocs. We have to come up with our own ideas and contribute to the building of Europe, a Europe reuniting the interests of all states, and thus our interests as well.

We are also concerned with the multilateral international framework, both the all-European one and that of the United Nations. Romania has had a privileged position because it held the position of president of the Security Council at a time characterized by a most serious crisis. This position also involved risks, but it also bestowed prestige on our country.

There is also an economic dimension in our foreign policy concerns. We wish to develop relations with the most dynamic areas of the world.

Another direction is that of a natural opening toward Latin America, which has not only an economic, but also a political and cultural dimension. There is a mutual wish tor contacts and cooperation. The idea of opening a Latin American house in Bucharest falls within this framework, a house which is to represent the Latin-American culture and spirit.

[Tinu] There is talk about Romania's image in the world....

[Nastase] I believe that, to a certain extent, we have already overcome the problem of changing our image abroad; at this point, all that is needed is to function normally—that is, like the diplomacy of a country that is proceeding toward democracy, both regarding its domestic structures and its international activity. In assuming this new identity, things will develop all by themselves. I believe, however, that we have to overcome this complex in connection with our international image and simply be ourselves.

Ministry Spokesman on Nastase's Visit to China

AU1110191990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1904 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/10/1990—Referring to the official visit Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase is to pay to China over 12-16 October, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu assessed it as an important moment in the evolution of the friendly and cooperative relations between Romania and China in the new conditions created by the 1989 December revolution. The agenda of the talks between the two foreign ministers includes first of all exchanges of views on identifying ways and modalities to give a strong impetus to the development and diversification of bilateral ties of cooperation on a political, economic, cultural, scientific and consular plane. Opinions will also be exchanged on international questions. The visit will have a marked working character. We hope that the interviews and talks with the Chinese officials will help working out projects the implementation of which will render the Romanian-Chinese relations more dynamic and richer in content, stressed the spokesman of the Foreign Affairs Ministry adding that China visit was to illustrate a basic coordinate of the Romanian foreign policy the development of cooperative links with all states.

Call for Bessarabia To Unite With Nation

AU1210090890 Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian 6 Oct 90 p 1

[Lucian Iordanescu article: "Unity Is Written on the Romanian Tricolor"]

[Text] Public opinion throughout the world, particularly in Europe, has been polarized these days by an event which seemed impossible just a year ago—namely, the unification of the two Germanies.

This event only happened thanks to the German people, first and foremost, and then to the current all-European process. The assertion of the German people's moral strength proved that, by totally excluding violence, it is possible for a people to rebuild its national existence, despite all surrounding adversities. Although Honecker claimed in 1989 that "the Berlin Wall will still stand 100 years from now," and Margaret Thatcher believed, also in 1989, that "Germany's unity is not a topical problem," today, when you are reading these lines, Germany is united. Bravo and honor to its people!

BuT what about us Romanians, what are we doing? We have a territory of our country, with people who write, talk, and think in Romanian, but who are considered as belonging to another country.

I am from Bessarabia, hence I can be accused of subjectivity. If the Germans united because of subjectivity, I want all Romanians to be subjective. Strange are the voices which claim the time has not yet arrived for the Romanians to unite. Why has the time not yet arrived? Will we make someone angry? Whom? Let us state it clearly and loudly! I believe one is faced here with the same scare that Ceausescu used to threaten us with if we did not behave. This, however, was only a means to an end for him—namely, to ensure the tranquillity of the presidential chair. Any attempt to touch this chair and its "extensions" was considered hostile activity against the socialist and state order. That meant that "the

country's destabilization," "coup d'etat," "Iron-Guardist and fascist action," and various other stupid things like that, which masked the interest of some "Phanariot" [Ottoman-appointed Greek rulers of Romania; a ruler who is alien to the pople's welfare.] leaders to preserve and consolidate their power, to the detriment of the joy to live and dignity of the Romanian people.

Brother Romanians! It is time to unite and reform our lives as thoroughly as possible, both those of us here and those in Bessarabia. Our reforms should be based on freedom, democracy, pluralism, a free economy, and absolute justice.

So help us God!

Cultural Convention Signed With USSR

AU1110192590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1857 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/10/1990—A convention on the setting up and operation of houses of culture and information of Romania and the Soviet Union was signed in Bucharest. Their aim is to strengthen and boost the cooperation between the two countries in science, technology, information, to deepen mutual understanding in humanitarian and cultural matters. The two centers have in view the organization of social, technical, scientific and cultural activities by sponsoring meetings, seminars, cultural evenings, exhibitions, shows.

Iliescu Receives SFRY Defense Minister

AU1210125990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1136 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/10/1990—Romanian President Ion Iliescu received on Friday morning at the Cotroceni Palace Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defence of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu, minister of national defence, attended the interview.

Iliescu Meets Romanian-Born U.S. Businessmen

AU1210193590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1905 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/10/1990—Friday afternoon President Ion Iliescu met at the Cotroceni Palace with a group of Romania-born American businessmen, members of the Romanian-American Economic Council.

During the interview Mr. Ion Iliescu made a survey of the changes in the Romanian economy and of the broad opportunities opened for the collaboration with foreign partners.

The members of the group emphasised the American businessmen's readiness to collaborate with Romanian partners. At the same time emphasis was placed on the necessity to reach higher quality and discipline standards.

President Iliescu underscored the important role of the Romanian emigration in the USA in promoting the general interests of Romania and of the Romanian-American collaboration.

Canadian Atomic Energy Officials Visit

AU1110192390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1821 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/10/1990—A delegation headed by Robert Ferchat, chairman of the board of Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, is visiting Romania over October 11-15.

The delegation will have interviews and talks at the headquarters of the Romanian Government as well as with executives of the Romanian specialized institutions regarding the present stage and the concrete ways to develop and strengthen the Romanian-Canadian cooperation in nuclear energy, special attention being paid to questions related to the construction of the nuclear plant at Cernavoda.

Culture Minister Plesu Visits London

AU1010205890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1918 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/10/1990—Following the visit to England of the Romanian Culture Minister Andrei Plesu, the British officials are going to favour a constant Romanian cultural presence in Britain necessary for a natural development of the Romanian-British relations. This will be achieved through Romania's participation in artistic festivals, meetings between Romanian and British writers and composers, art exhibitions, copyright-free translations, co-editing of books, British assistance to the identification of the patrimony, training of cultural administrative staff, publishing houses.

As it has been previously announced, Mr. Andrei Plesu met in London with personalities of the British cultural life and of the Romanian emigration.

Foreign Affairs Official Melescanu Visits Africa

AU1110191390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1907 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/10/1990—Starting today, October 11, Teodor Melescanu, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is paying a visit to Zaire, Zimbabwe and Kenya. His schedule includes talks with his counterparts in those countries' foreign affairs ministries, with those in charge of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

Human Rights League Plans International Conference

AU1210195390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1821 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/10/1990—The Human Rights League set up on January 1, 1990 and gathering

over 4,000 members all over the country, with headquarters in Bucharest, announced during a press conference the organisation in Bucharest on December 8, 1990 of the international conference of non-governmental organisations to be attended by delegations from the 32 states subscribers to the Helsinki Final Act. [sentence as received]

The president of the league, lawyer Nicolae Stefanescu-Draganesti, made a survey of the actions having been taken until now. He also deplored the lack of understanding of certain institutions.

Among the most serious violations of the human rights in Romania which the organisation had reported to the legal organs were the violence manifested by the police against citizens on certain events, the inadequate solving of the dwelling question, disinformation of public opinion, etc.

Chebeleu Refutes BTA Report on Pollution

AU1110203390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1908 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/10/1990—Referring to a news item recently disseminated by the Bulgarian News Agency BTA about the talks between the Bulgarian foreign minister and Romania's ambassador in Sofia, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is informed that, unlike what was declared by the Bulgarian side, measurements made by the Romanian side on September 17, 20, 21 and 23 in Giurgiu surrounding area did not exceed the limits in chlorum in concentration, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu told the weekly news conference of the ministry. In fact, the management of the chemical plant in Giurgiu made it known that those sections of the plant likely to release chlorum ions did not work over the mentioned period. Subsequently, the statements made by the Bulgarian side have no legal ground, Ambassador Chebeleu said, adding they were part of an unjustified campaign which is trying to emphasize the idea that the pollution of the town of Ruse would not be caused by local sources but by the Giurgiu Plant. During his talks at the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Romanian ambassador pointed out that the Romanian side fulfilled its obligations under the agreements made by the two prime ministers on July 4 and asked the Bulgarian side to do the same.

Iliescu Addresses Television Viewers 12 Oct

AU1310182890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1720 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/10/1990—There is a significant change, President Ion Iliescu of Romania said in a televised dialogue with the nation Friday [12 October] night after his return from New York where he attended two major international meetings. The "significant change" refers to the position of foreign countries and organizations to Romania and the president supported his statement with the IMF offer for assistance after laws were enacted that favor economic reform in Romania.

The IMF was encouraged by the measures taken or planned by Romania for the safety of foreign investment, said the president, but it was also understanding of the measures for the protection of the national economy and of the population against the high costs of transition to a market economy. On that subject, the president spoke about the interest shown by representatives of many U.S. companies and economic and financial circles during his New York visit in the laws made or about to be made in Romania which guarantee foreign investment, which reflects a genuine interest in cooperation with Romanian companies.

Romania's presence and position were welcomed, including its stance on the Gulf crisis, said President Ion Iliescu in his interview on the National Television Friday night. Speaking about the Romanian presence at the U.N. General Assembly, he emphasized the new climate that prevailed there chiefly as a result of political changes in Eastern Europe which in turn reflected in the substance and language of the debates. The president of Romania also assessed the first World Summit for Children as an outstanding political event.

On the remark that the foreign press had noted the absence of an explicit dissociation from communism in his United Nations address, Ion Iliescu said in his televised interview Friday night that not only was that dissociation not absent, but that the whole substance of his address reflected the sudden and deep changes in Romania, the collapse of old structures and the disappearance of the Communist Party, which did not happen elsewhere.

Speaking on the problems now arising from that power vacuum, and on the fast pace of events since the revolution in Romania, the president insisted on their new course, on the promotion of democratic structures and a radical economic reform which shatters old rigid structures and builds new ones not without difficulties, though.

Ion Iliescu said that it was a big mistake to treat the Romanian emigration with hostility. Insisting on that theme in his televised interview Friday night, Ion Iliescu said it was our duty "to see all Romanians as envoys of our people." In reference to his meetings with representatives of the Romanian Diaspora in the United States, the president said they were greatly interested in "the new conditions," and "we are going to work for contacts to be maintained" through mutual visits and exchanges, and promised they would do all they could to promote the interests of Romania abroad. The president also said the representatives of the emigration were rather bitter about the Romanian written press which with a number of publications ten times larger than in the dictator's time fails to properly inform public opinion and uses a tough language.

The president also showed that in a recent meeting with political leaders where they were briefed about his activity in New York, all agreed that the press should be urged to calm down its tone. No matter who governs,

said the president, a climate of cooperation is required to solve the difficult problems of the country. This does not mean uniformity. Criticism is necessary, but its language must be decent, not slanderous or violent, which may reflect in street violence, the president said among other things.

Iliescu Gives No Direct Reply to Miners Issue

AU1110210890 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Oct 90 p 1

[Report on interview with President Ion Iliescu by Radio Free Europe correspondent Nestor Rates on 7 October; place not given]

[Text] On Friday evening, 7 October, Radio Free Europe broadcast a lengthy Nestor Rates interview with Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of Romania. During the interview, Mr. Ion Iliescu recalled, among other things, the dramatic events of 29 January, 19 February, 15 March, and 13-15 June, talked in general terms about errors committed, and said that in June he did not call the miners to Bucharest nor did he endorse their coming; he said that the miners left for Bucharest on their own accord on the evening of 13 June prompted by what they had seen on television. To Nestor Rates' question about the fact that Mr. Iliescu had welcomed the miners on their arrival in Bucharest and expressed thanks on their departure, the president did not reply directly, but made some general assessments.

Roman Chairs Weekly Government Session

AU1210130090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1144 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/10/1990—Romania's Government met Friday, October 12, in its weekly session chaired by Prime Minister Petre Roman.

Before approaching the items on the agenda, the government talked about the serious difficulties in supplying newspaper for this year's fourth quarter. Given the ever greater number of publications, now amounting to over 1,500, the government will further back out responsibility for newspaper administrative control and will take firm steps to fulfill its forest protection obligations.

Discussions next referred to the first item on the agenda variants for reforming the salary system in the economy.

Debates are still under way.

Bishop Tokes Comments on Minorities, Democracy

AU1110211390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2015 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/10/1990—Bishop Laszlo Tokes announced that he would renew the call to convening a meeting of the 15 denominations in Romania which could have, in his opinion, a regional character and provide a favorable framework for an approach to minorities-related questions.

The honorary president of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (HDUR) [UDMR—Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania] made this statement in Budapest, at the hospital where he is treated after the 7 August accident in Hungary, during a news conference attended by representatives of the Hungarian, Czechoslovak and Romanian Press, as well as by the HDUR President Domokos Geza.

Bishop Tokes said that the anti-Hungarian manifestations of certain circles were diminishing as outstanding personalities of the Romanian public life disapproved of such attitudes.

He assessed the HDUR as a unitary force although there are various trends within it. The union fights for Romania's democratization just as for the interests of the Hungarian nationals.

In his opinion the weakness of the opposition is a disadvantage for the democratization process in Romania. He is of the opinion that there is no question of a new dictatorship in Romania but the democratization process is stagnating. Nevertheless he expresses his belief that the road to democracy in Romania is irreversible.

The bishop praised President Ion Iliescu's address to the recent U.N. General Assembly session. He announced that he would come back to Romania in November or December.

Campeanu Speaks on National Politics, Economics

AU1010153090 Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian 4 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Mr. Radu Campeanu's Visit to Vilcea County"]

[Text] Last weekend's agenda of Mr. Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party [PNL] and Senate vice president, included a visit to the Rimnicu Vilcea branch of the PNL. Deputy Gheorghe Voinea accompanied Mr. Radu Campeanu on this visit to the Vilcea County capital.

Mr. Radu Campeanu was welcomed by the county branch president, I. Bobei, a lawyer, who reported briefly on the party's activity, stressing mainly its homogeneous nature. The meeting was also attended by other Vilcea PNL members and by representatives of the press.

Invited to take the floor, Radu Campeanu spoke at length about the current economic, political and social situation in Romania. He then discussed various aspects of the parliamentary activity by discussing, in particular, Articles 23, 24, and 215 of the Law on Commercial Societies. He emphasized the particular contribution made in a democratic spirit by the PNL parliamentary group to the essential amendments to the provisions of this law.

In his speech, Mr. Radu Campeanu referred to the coming communal elections and the stage that the drafting of the Constitution has reached. In connection with the government program, the PNL president made a number of assessments which suggest that the only solution that can save the country is the non-demagocical application of the principles of liberalism.

Following the recent visits to 20 counties, Mr. Radu Campeanu said: "I have gained the impression that the political attitude of the electorate has undergone a sudden change."

In connection with the priorities of the government, the PNL president pinpointed three major subjects of great topicality:

—The need to issue a law on farmers ownership, accompanied by the establishment of a rural banking system with the aim of effectively helping those who want to work in agriculture;

—The abrogation of Decree-Law No. 54/1990, replacing it with a simple and effective law;

—The establishment of an independent television station in the spirit of our country's democratic opening.

Regarding certain state decisions, Mr. Radu Campeanu noted that there are several decisionmaking centers whose decisionmakers are not known for sure.

Discussing the problem of the Hungarian minority, the PNL president reaffirmed the party's position in this respect on the basis of the well-known liberal principles: Romania's territorial integrity stemming from the Treaty of Trianon, respect for national sovereignty, and acceptance of the Romanian official language. The speaker emphasized that it is necessary for all ethnic minorities—without exception—to benefit from exactly the same rights as the entire Romanian population, and to have the duty to honor the same respnsibilities as all Romanian citizens.

Mr. Radu Campeanu then provided clarifications in connection with the structure of orchestrating the opposition and answered questions from the audience, which mainly referred to lands and ownership issues. The rights on forests demanded by the farmers were also discussed.

In conclusion, Mr. Radu Campeanu granted an interview to the chief editor of CURIERUL DE VILCEA. He talked about both domestic and foreign issues, Romania's opportunity to return to Europe, the situation in the Gulf, and about the requests made by the Soviet and Iraqi ambassadors to meet with him.

The PNL delegation's visit, which yielded obvious positive results, ended with a visit to Olanesti, where the mayor of this helth resort gave the guests a warm welcome.

Democratic Party Outlines Concerns, Goals

AU1210105190 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 4 Oct p 3

[Emilia Vasiliu note: "The Democratic Party of Romania"]

[Text] The current concerns of the Democratic Party of Romania [PDR] are polarized by the party's adherence to the Romanian Democratic Forum [FDR], a political formation which intends to put up its own governing alternative, with a program that focuses on economics. Party Vice President Mr. Corneliu Rascanu told us: "We will publish an economic program aimed at a broad opening toward the market economy, without the claim of being in possession of absolute truths and without the intention of becoming vehement critics of the current governmental initiative. In this respect, the FDR and its experts will carry out technocratic rather than political activity to find economic levers and solutions which can help take the country out of the current deadlock situation."

It is worth mentioning that one of the first FDR projects is the organization of an international symposium with guests from 18 countries. The subject of these manifestations is the economic reform and the implications of the currency reform in the countries of the former socialist camp. The organization hopes that this technical symposium scheduled for the beginning of November will be followed by actions to educate the broad public about the meaning and significance of the key market economy notions, such as the free market, inflation, the stock exchange, and so forth.

Liberal Monarchist Party's Goals Outlined

AU1210111690 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 4 Oct 90 p 3

[Emilia Vasiliu note: "The Liberal Monarchist Party of Romania"]

[Text] The entire activity of the Liberal Monarchist Party of Romania is devoted to supporting the monarchist idea within the context of liberalism, according to Mr. Bogdan Dumitrescu, the party's president, and Dr. Mircea Strat, the party's vice president. Being consistently devoted to this goal, the party members are currently involved in an intensive activity to steadily propagate their ideas. The two prominent party members said that the post- congress activity at the level of county branches and in the capital aims at giving ever-greater credibility to the party's ideas to present the "true face of the Royal House, which feels attached to the people and their interests." Aside from the activity carried out to this end, the more than 20 county branches have their own propaganda means—namely, the "VOX" newspaper, which reflects the activity of the party's theoreticians.

Before concluding the presentation of the party's current concerns, taken down by our reporters at the party headquarters, we will now respond to a request made by our hosts and bring to the attention of the public an

administrative problem with which the party is currently confronted: Occupation of the party's headquarters, situated in a block of flats on George Cosbuc Boulevard, is not secured by contract, but only by a verbal agreement. This is rather inconvenient for the commendable development of political activities.

* Need To Monitor State Funding of Parties

90BA0318C Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 12 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[Darie Novaceanu article]

[Text] Inexplicably, not to say unacceptably, after almost four months since the elections, the government has still not produced a clear and definitive document for Parliament showing how some so-called parties spent the allocations received from the state budget. We are talking about altogether 37 million lei—or to be very exact, 36,984,000—which is a goodly sum and which, had it been allocated to building monuments in honor of the heroes of the December Revolution, the monuments would have been standing by now. Instead, we honor their memory like the poorest of the poor, with oak crosses and smoky tin candle holders.

Equally inexplicably, once again not to say unacceptably, the government is not in a position to tell Parliament the reasons for which some of the so-called parties continue to exist, although there is nothing to justify their existence: they never worked as parties, made no showing in the electoral campaign, did not register candidates for the two houses or, if they did, didn't win even one tenth of a seat. These parties have no significance whatsoever in our politics. And what's worse, having registered as parties, they from the very beginning acted like businesses. Private or individual businesses—whatever you may want to call them—and, in some cases, like ordinary and unabashed racketeers. Racketeering under a political seal, in splendid offices put at their disposal with generosity and an open hand by the same government.

Nowhere in the world can such a thing happen: Election results are normally the decisive factor not only for the formation of parliaments, but also for the political fate of the losers. If they want to start all over again, the losers can rebuild their forces and strategies, but not with the aid of the philanthropic government formed in the wake of the same election. Everywhere in the world, parties that don't win over five percent of the votes fall by the wayside, because below that percentage point they are not viewed as representing any political force capable of influencing (not deciding) political events in that country.

Unlike anywhere else, in our country the situation is completely different and it is even very bad regarding some of these "wee parties." I don't have—no one has—up-to-date figures, but as of the last count, files have been opened on 11 such "wee parties," all in Bucharest, demanding that their "leaders" be brought to court for not having observed any financial discipline and for having used budget allocations arbitrarily, solely for their own interests and for starting the businesses we mentioned.

But let's not have any illusions on the subject. We are not like anyone else. And, judging by the way in which trials proceed at any court in our country, we believe that none of the "leaders" indicted will have to give an account of themselves. And if they nevertheless do, it will be another miracle, because the "leaders" themselves will want to push the action through faster to get rid of the obsession, and especially in the conviction that nothing will happen to them and that if worse comes to worst, they will have to give back what they did not spend legally (in the meantime many of them have become millionaires), not to mention all the press publicity they will gain, which is a must for popularity and for their own personality cult.

Where else in the world could one find a situation like this? Observed by indiscrete eyes in an innocent extramarital adventure, found out in some insignificant misuse of funds, or having received or given a bribe, a political leader will dress in mourning and forget all about a political career. Sometimes his reputation will be shot to pieces even if the abuse was minuscule, like being caught without a train ticket. Not so in our country. The more mischief a man has done and continues to do, the farther away he steps outside the law, the deeper he sinks in dishonest business, the more illegal firms, enterprises, societies, clubs, and even semi-brothels he establishes, the more popular, admired, loved, and "leader" he becomes. And if once in a while he even grabs a Molotov cocktail or incites a trade union against an enterprise or against the government, then he's an even bigger leader, from the soles of his feet to beyond the top of his head. All he has to do is sneeze in a five cent yellow sheet selling for five lei for the entire government to jump to attention, beg his forgiveness, and leave him alone for another few months in which to increase his fortune or possibly get his passport ready to leave the country for good. And that, with an obvious political advantage: He was the leader of party X—naturally a democratic or progressive party—was in the opposition, and is now requesting asylum because of all the persecutions he endured for that. Political asylum, of course, which means more money; the other kind of money, meaning good money, not lei, with never ending lines (in front of empty stores, in other words stores ready for forced privatization). Which amounts to another kind of subsidy, from another government, and of course, new housing, i.e., offices in which to set up some hard currency racket.

So at least from this viewpoint, we are a Garden of Eden. A shabby, soiled Paradise, but merry as Hell. After all, as I said in previous articles, what can a party with 251 members do as a political force for a people of 23 millions? Or, on a more modest scale, for trade unions which, already organized in several federations, are beginning to count millions in their membership? Is

anyone as naive as to think that such a party or committee could convince the members of those trade unions that their specific demands could find their ideological expression and political aspiration in its program? Let's be serious! And let's be frank: If one party with almost four million members couldn't keep a people at its side, a "wee party" like this couldn't sway even a quarter of a city district or half a village. Because a district may have several hundreds of thousands of residents, and a village often exceeds the dizzying figure of 251 militants. A single plant or industrial site—and we still have a few—can swallow such a party a hundred times over. The only astonishing thing is that this kind of wonder hasn't happened yet. It is astonishing that there hasn't been any large plant whose workers registered in court as a political party. We would then have had several hundred parties with at least 100 times more activists. Not to mention another few hundred combines and industrial complexes throughout the country, plus the 2,705 communes with their 13.123 villages. All those units could have legally registered as parties, simply adding the word "democracy" in front or after their own name. Or we can do a different account. The number of citizens entitled to vote who registered at the May elections was 17,200,722. Divided by 251 we get 685,529 parties. If the government had given each one a subsidy of half a million as it allocated to those little parties, the subsidies would have added up to 329,264,000,000 from the state budget. Please calculate for yourselves the value in lei of the national budget and revenues. You will realize that this financial transfer would have in one week solved what we won't be able to solve in several years; the state wouldn't have had any money left, but the privatization would have been total and final. But since this did not happen, those who did form themselves into little parties had more room to maneuver. They put both themselves and their cronies into private business without spending a buck of their own. Because they had enough lei from the government. And they're doing amazingly well. No one has it as good as we do.

Performance of Economy in September Reviewed

AU1210170590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1522 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/10/1990—The performance of the economy in September 1990 as against the same month last year, is 74 percent in industrial output and labour productivity, 59 percent in investments, 50 percent in exports on clearing a basis and 46 percent in exports for hard currency, according to the National Statistics Commission.

The commission notes that increase as against the same time last year is recorded by hard-currency payable imports (86 percent) and retail sales (10 percent).

The output of certain types of products was higher in September this year than the same period last year, mainly in such foodstuffs as: slaughtered meat, meat preparations, fresh dairy products and cheese. September's output of basic energy products and some vital raw materials is, however, still under last year's level. The same is true for most products of the manufacturing industries.

Retail sales in the state and cooperative trade network have substantially increased both in September and over the first 9 months of 1990, by ten and 16 percent, respectively. That is partly due to important supplies, especially foodstuffs, out of the domestic production on the market. Foodstuffs production in September 1990 exceeded that of September 1989 as follows: Slaughtered meat 38 percent, meat preparations 42 percent, canned meat 103 percent, fresh dairy products 43 percent: Cheese 35 percent: Butter 29 percent, and fruit 72 percent.

Timber supply also increased by 71 percent and gasoline by 63 percent.

Important quantities of imported foodstuffs—meat, raw sugar, coffee beans, rice and citric fruit—have contributed to a better supply .

In the field of foreign trade, September export is 0.4 mil. roubles and 2.2 mil. dollars down on August, while imports are 100 million dollars higher. As a result, the balance between export and imports, shows a deficit of 121 mil. roubles, and 192 mil. dollars. The fact is due to a low export which, this September, was only half of last September's in terms of the 86 percent increase in hard-currency payable imports. Currency payable imports as compared to the same period of 1989 mainly resulted from doubling the imports for production, the commission said.

Student Demonstrations, Opposition March Held

AU1310172990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Today, A demonstration for freedom and democracy was held between 1300-1600 [1000-1300 GMT] in Bucharest's Opera Square. The demonstration was initiated by student organizations and members of the Bucharest Student Convention, who claimed that the evolution of the social and political process in Romania is not working out in accordance with the spirit and ideals of the 1989 December revolution. In this context, speakers accused the authorities of failing to free all those who were arrested after the June events, thus hampering the application of democratic measures in the political life of the country. The demonstrators called for the unity of the opposition. During the demonstration anticommunist and anti-presidential slogans were chanted and solidarity with Student Ciprian Gerosanu, who was arrested after the 13-15 June was expressed.

The demonstrations were attended by about 2,000 people who left the square at approximately 1600. After 15 minutes the normal flow of traffic resumed.

Elsewhere today, the Free Democratic Party, the National Christian Democratic Party—the Maniu Mihalache Political Line—the independent National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, with provisional headquarters in Craiova, and the Christian Democratic Union organized a protest march through Mihai Kogalniceanu Boulevard, University Square, Romana Square, Victory Square, and Romanian Television headquarters. The participants asked for the liberation of political prisoners who were arrested after the 1989 December revolution. Anticommunist slogans were chanted. A moment of silence was observed in University Square for the heroes who fell in December. Protest motions were submitted to the Ministry of Justice, the government, and Romanian Television. The participants in the protest march were joined by members of the People's Alliance Organization, who, among other things, called for the liberation of their vice president, Teodor Maries.

Munteanu, Others Addresses Demonstrators

AU1310212890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1931 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/10/1990—The Bucharest Students' Convention arranged an authorized meeting in the Opera Square on Saturday.

The president of the Bucharest University Students' League, Marian Munteanu, demanded in his address the liberation and trial in liberty of those arrested after the February and June events, of Student Ciprian Gerosanu of Ploiesti first and foremost. Other speakers, among whom were Victor Rebengiuc, rector of the Theatre Academy, Alexandru Popovici, pro-rector of the Oil and Gas Institute in Ploiesti, and Ion Fageteanu, deputy dean at the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, declared for the promotion of the principles of freedom, democracy, competence, legality, nonviolence and human rights. Reference was made to the moral and economic crisis of the Romanian society, blaming the country's government and president.

At the end of the meeting, held in a peaceful atmosphere, the representatives of the organisations member of the Bucharest Students' Convention arranged a press conference at the Law Faculty.

Stefan Andrei Testifies in Bucharest Trial

AU1210132490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1103 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/10/1990—The trial of ex-members of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party's Executive Political Committee on genocide charges was resumed Friday when defendant Stefan Andrei was heard in court. He is accused to have explicitly consented at the Committee's meetings of 17 and 22 December 1989 to the use of firearms to put the revolution down.

During the criminal investigation, the defendant said that at the end of the 17 December meeting, Ceausescu had ordered the minister of national defence, the minister of the interior and the head of the State Security Department mercilessly to repress the disorder at Timisoara and that nobody had asked who the demonstrators were or what they demonstrated for.

Stefan Andrei admitted that he had been one of those nominally asked by Ceausescu if he agreed with the planned measures and that he had answered in the affirmative. He also admitted that at the teleconference held after the Politbureau meeting of 17 December he had heard Ceausescu's or?n?to open fire on the protesters at Timisoara.

On the 22 December meeting, the defendant admitted to have answered Ceausescu's question on whether he was determined to fight, that he would do it.

Stefan Andrei was a leading member of the nomenklatura during Ceausescu's 25-year dictatorship. He was secretary of the communist party's Central Committee in charge of the foreign relations department, minister of foreign affairs and deputy prime minister in charge of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

Pleads Not Guilty

AU1310151490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1055 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/10/1990—After showing that his statement made during the penal prosecution was influenced by his psychic and emotional condition as well as by the attitude of the prosecutors, the former member of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Executive Political Committee [EPC], Defendant Stefan Andrei stressed: "Before any statement I most positively say I am not guilty of genocide. This is not the infraction I have committed, if I did commit one. The charge in the bill of indictment is not in accordance with the provisions of the UN resolution of December 9, 1948 in Paris on genocide."

Referring to the meeting of the Executive Political Committee of December 17, 1989, the defendant said mainly that it was "a shower of questions and answers between Ceausescu and National Defense Minister Vasile Milea, the Minister of the Interior Tudor Postelnicu and the chief of the State Security Department Iulian Vlad, because they had not obeyed by orders". From the discussions and the dictator's reference to the situation in Timisoara, the defendant said, it could not be inferred what the orders were or that they were meant to repress a revolution. By his opinion, what could be inferred from what was said during the meeting was only that groups of hooligans and declasees, incited from abroad, attacked the headquarters of the county Party Committee and that they were to be given a firm riposte.

Referring to the last Executive Political Committee meeting, on December 22, 1989, during which Ceausescu had demanded those present to tell who committed themselves to fight for otherwise there could not be any

going further, addressing directly the defendant the question "What do you say, Andrei?" And the answer being "I fight", the defendant claims to have meant only a political struggle and not the repression, and to have even thought of Ceausescu's removal from leadership.

Asked to explain why after the December 21 rally when, according to his own statement, he had realized that a revolution had been started against the dictatorial regime, he did not abandon Ceausescu, remaining in the headquarters of the former Central Committee of the RCP of his own accord until the moment of the revolution, Stefan Andrei answered: "that's the tragedy of my life".

* Call for Dialogue With Demonstrators

90BA0319A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 7 Sep 90 p 3

[Statement received from I. Stanescu of the Popular Alliance party: "A Possible Alternative"]

[Text] To demonstrate the credibility of your attitude in favor of the free expression of political, moral, social, and economic opinions other than those promoted by government circles, it is absolutely necessary to reconsider Decision No. 828 of 27 August 1990 (under which you banned public assemblies, marches, demonstrations, meetings, and other forms of manifestation in the center of Bucharest, in flagrant violation of the right of free expression of views, i.e., of human rights in Romania) and to repeal it.

We, who are now present in University Square, which after the bloody events of 13-15 June became the second Tienanmen and a symbol of our unshakable determination to fulfill the ideals of December 1989, solemnly declare the following:

1. Bucharest's City Hall is neither entitled nor competent to negotiate or deal with the possible demands of the demonstrators in the Square.

2. The demands and appeals of the people in Tienanmen II are those expressed prior to 13 June (mainly, a dialogue with President Iliescu broadcast live on prime time television) in University Square, the communism-free zone, plus several new ones generated by the communist and fascist-type totalitarian position adopted by the authorities after 13 June.

3. In view of the fact that the Mayor General of Bucharest expressed a desire to begin a dialogue, we want to appeal to him to facilitate such a dialogue with the executive power and with President Iliescu.

4. Our sole delegates empowered to express our demands and appeals, to conduct a dialogue, and to negotiate are the people appointed by the University Square demonstrators to represent them on 8 May 1990, whom we once again ask to fulfill this mission; they are, in alphabetical order: Gabriel Andreescu, Ana Blandiana, Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu (spokesman), Florin Gabriel Marculescu, Dorel Mihit, Marian Munteanu, Vasile Popovici, George Serban, and Stelian Tanase, plus cameraman Eugen Popescu (see ROMANIA LIBERA No. 116/12 May 1990).

5. Because we put the country's need for peace and stability above everything else, we request that the dialogue with President Iliescu and representatives of the government be held at a jointly agreed upon date and announced in the press three days prior to the beginning of negotiations. We raise no condition as to the place of the meeting, but we insist on having the dialogue broadcast live on television.

We have nothing to hide!

We also request the presence of the press from the beginning of the discussions, and a press conference with the participation of both delegations at the end of the meeting.

6. As a preliminary conditions to beginning a dialogue we request the immediate release of all the persons arrested in connection with the 18 February, 15 March, 13-14-15 June, and August 1990 events.

7. By shedding their blood in December 1989 and June 1990 in University Square, the Romanian youth have paid the highest possible price, which entitles them to dispose of this site that they have selected as a place of sacrifice.

This site—within the perimeter delimitated by the University, the National Theater, and Hotel Intercontinental—will become the Agora of the civic citadel, a place of debate and presentation of views by its members. We will employ peaceful means of struggle to ensure that this area remains closed to traffic. We propose two solutions for solving the traffic problem:

a) Build an underground passage between 1848 Boulevard and Balcescu Boulevard;

b) Build a bridge between the two boulevards.

Similar urban construction has been done in our city before, so that the municipality has the technical means and resources to carry it out.

8. Faithful to the principle of nonviolence, we want to express our disapproval of and to condemn the men who infiltrated our ranks and committed acts of violence for the purpose of discrediting us; these persons do not represent us.

9. To preempt incitement, slander, and disinformation—typical tools of the strategy of totalitarian regimes—we want to specify that no association, organization, political party, or independent person is entitled to deal or negotiate on behalf of the University Square demonstrators; the only authorized representatives are those listed under point 4 of the present document.

[signed] The Initiative Committee for Dialogue
Established Ad-Hoc in University Square

Weekly Alleges Jovic Preparing for Coup d'Etat

LD1510142690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0911 GMT 15 Oct 90

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—It is believed that [Borisav] Jovic's public inclination toward a federal option is in fact a preparation for a coup d'etat, Jelena Lovric says in an article entitled "A Scenaria for a Coup d'Etat," which is carried in the latest issue of Zagreb's weekly DANAS. The article discloses the date of an alleged coup d'etat—sometime by the end of this week, while the Federal Assembly is in session, and she substantiates this opinion with some details which show that something is happening in the Army. A strange kind of silence has recently been prevailing in these circles, DANAS states and quotes a number of articles published in the Yugoslav press which more or less openly announce a coup d'etat.

Foreign forces will not even lift a finger when this happens, DANAS goes on to say. On the contrary, everyone has had enough of our Yugoslav insanity in the Balkans. The world wishes stability on this territory, not new interdivided mini-states. A chaos of disintegration and national conflicts is approaching, and it is only a question of time when it will reach us.

The worst thing to happen to our Yugoslav People's Army is when members of different nations begin to view it in different ways. The Army failed to resist this danger in due time: A great part of Yugoslavia views the Army today as an extended arm or a supporter of Serbian policy. The Army itself frequently provides grounds for this, DANAS says. In this context, the latest issue of NARODNA ARMIJA carries an article on refugees who were accommodated in the Yugoslav People's Army barracks in Petrinja entitled "The Army Provides Shelter for the People." Would it have happened if the Albanian people had sought shelter? The mere fact that something like that is even difficult to imagine explains why some nations in Yugoslavia do not now consider the Yugoslav People's Army to be their own protector, DANAS concludes.

Poll Says Federation Favored Over Confederation

AU1410213790

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 8 October on page 5 carries a 4,000-word report by Slobodanka Bakic-Golubovic on the results of BORBA's public opinion poll on whether Yugoslavia should be a federation or confederation, entitled "Tears for Yugoslavia."

According to the report, BORBA's public opinion research center polled 420 people (70 from each of the six republics, or 10 people from seven cities from each republic). The center used the random sample method, selecting every 30th person from the telephone directory. The poll was conducted in the following cities: Zagreb, Varazdin, Osijek, Slavonski Brod, Knin, Sibenik, and Rijeka (Croatia); Maribor, Ljubljana, Murska Sobota, Celje, Novo Mesto, Kranj, and Koper (Slovenia); Skopje, Strumica, Prilep, Ohrid, Kicevo, Kumanovo, and Bitolj (Macedonia); Prijedor, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar, Jajce, Trebinje, and Bihac (Bosnia-Hercegovina); Belgrade, Zajecar, Vranje, Titovo Uzice, Kragujevac, Novi Sad, and Donji Milanovac (Serbia); Titograd, Bar, Niksic, Herceg Novi, Cetinje, and Bijelo Polje (Montenegro).

The results of the poll are presented in a table which depicts in detail respondents' views together with the reasons they expressed the opinion they did.

In addition to this table, the report also carries one pie and one bar chart which summarize the results of the poll presented in the aforementioned table.

The following are the results of the poll as summarized by the two bar charts:

Table 1 "Should Yugoslavia be a federation or a confederation?"

[bar chart, figures in percentages]

	Federation	Confederation	Something else	Do not know
Slovenia	30	49	13	8
Croatia	49	43	4	4
Bosnia-Hercegovina	68	12	10	10
Montenegro	84	4	6	5
Serbia	70	9	7	14
Macedonia	81	9	0	10

Table 2. "Should Yugoslavia be a federation or a confederation?"

[pie chart, figures in percentages]

	Federation	Confederation	Something else	Do not know
SFRY	64	21	7	8

Commentary Says Stablization Plan Not Implemented

AU1210202490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Oct 90 p 1

[Dara Vucinic commentary: "Whose Inflation"]

[Text] Even if it were not for the increasingly frequent warnings in controlled media about the threat of the growing "government prices," the official statistical data show a 7.1-percent September inflation rate, double that which was predicted, and the daily "inspection" of shop shelves would be sufficient to cause mistrust in the plans and promises from the federal leadership that the anti-inflationary, or stabilization, program will be consistently implemented, and that it will result in firm steps toward a more efficient market economy and the economic and political freedom of every individual.

The only big question is whose fault it is that the stabilization program risks are not being implemented and that hyperinflation is looming again.

One may say that experience shows that violations of the measures and decisions of the federal government and of its enacted laws, which are also our laws, are much more widespread than their implementation. It is a fact, for instance, that the federal government experts, with direct assistance from many domestic and foreign experts, have established that the sum of money for the payment of monthly personal incomes cannot and must not exceed a little less than 20 billion dinars this year if one wants reform to succeed.... Last month alone, almost 30 billion dinars were paid in wages. How is this? According to the existing federal laws, about 2 million employed persons should now be receiving personal incomes calculated as an average for the period between last December and May this year minus 10 percent, because of their past or their present losses, or because of the "number" of days of liquidity shortage in a month. Does this not show that the Social Accounting Service turns a blind eye to those firms which pay more than they possess and than they are entitled to under the law? It is difficult to believe that these services did this without the blessing of their local potentates. What can one say, however, about the fact that in a community where the federal government is attacked most because of the growing inflation and its other "antinational acts," the highest state and ruling party circles call for a boycott of the federal laws which ban wages paid without proper backing?

The federal government is attacked every day for, among other things, allowing "unacceptably large imports" of agricultural food products. However, nobody explains to housewives why Hungarian salami sells in Serbia for 140 dinars, and similar Gavrilovic salami for 363 dinars, why Polish cheese is half the price of domestic cheese, and mayonnaise made of eggs and oil a third of the price of domestic mayonnaise, while "Serbia can double the production of food," or at least Stanko Radmilovic, head of its government, says so. Is it the fault of the Federal Executive Council that the few, but expensively paid, socially owned irrigation systems near Kraljevo and Cacak are overgrown with weeds, even if it may be blamed for the fact that even Albania has many more hectares of irrigated land than our Yugoslavia?

In this general chaotic situation, which is also the period before elections, Ante Markovic and his government may be proclaimed enemy number one of "our nation," "our workers," "our agricultural combines," or our social property. And they may even fall for this or some other reason. But the question remains: What next? What will the "national salvation" governments of the national states offer their nationally homogeneous subjects tomorrow when they face the fact that there can be no stabilization with an excessive growth of wages and public spending and an easy monetary policy which they now advocate?

Debt Payment Problems Under Reorganization Viewed

LD1210114190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0544 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—In the event of the disintegration of Yugoslavia a serious problem will arise concerning the regulation of international debts, to which the creators of a confederate model have not devoted due attention, Television Belgrade cautioned in last night's prime news program.

At present, the common foreign debt of Yugoslavia stands at 16 billion dollars, Television Belgrade recalls, warning that the problem of "dividing up" the debts amongst the present Yugoslav republics would be difficult to resolve as "one republic got into debt for another, and the imports of one ensured the exports of another."

Under the Ossim accords, since last January, Yugoslavia is under obligation to pay back 110 million dollars to Italian citizens from whom property had been taken in the border region of Slovenia and Croatia, Television Belgrade recalls, posing the question whether, in the case of the dissolution of the country, the two republics will take over this obligation.

The abolishment and the creation of new states is not only a matter of good will, but of very clear political, economic interests and international obligations, Television Belgrade concluded in its commentary.

Parties, Organizations Registered on Federal Level

LD1110084390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—The Federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration has registered four more parties: The Belgrade-based Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka]; the Belgrade-based Party of National Accord [Stranka Narodne Sloge]; the Belgrade-based Green Party [Zelena Stranka]; and the Novi Sad-based Traders' Democratic Party [Trgovacka Demokratska Stranka].

Two social organizations have been registered: the Yugoslav Federation of Professional Box [Jugoslovenska Federacija Profesionalnog Boksa] and the Independent Union of Drivers [Nezavisni Sindikat Vozaca u Drumskom Saobracaju], both Belgrade based.

Two citizens' associations have been registered: The Pancevo-based Yugoslav Association of Retired People Enjoying Pension Rights on the Basis of International Agreements [Jugoslovensko Udruzenje Gradjana koji Ostvaruju ili Uzivaju Penziju po Osnovi Medjunarodnih Ugovora] and the Zemun-based Association of Former Yugoslav Prisoners of the Second World War [Udruzenje Bivsih Jugoslovenskih Ratnih Zarobljenika Drugog Svetskog Rata]

Twenty political parties, eight social organizations, and five citizens' associations have been registered at the federal level, the Federal Executive Council Secretariat for Information reports.

Croat Presidency Holds Expanded Session 13 Oct

LD1310235290 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Yesterday's expanded session of the Presidency of the Republic of Croatia, chaired by President Franjo Tudjman, was also attended by top representatives of the government, republican Assembly, and Croatian delegation to the Yugoslav Assembly. Considered was the political situation in the country and the tasks regarding the plans for resolving the constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia as well as a report by the republican Presidency Commission on the interception of helicopters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In a statement released today, the following was stressed:

The proposal for a confederal model drawn up by a working group of the presidencies of the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia was assessed in positive terms at the session, as well as the draft confederal treaty on the structure of the Yugoslav community, drawn up by the Croatian side. A great deal of interest in the Slovene and Croatian proposals has been demonstrated in the country and abroad. The Presidency again stresses that only on the basis of such relations would it be possible to seek methods of coexistence between the Yugoslav people founded on a historic agreement on how to emerge out of the constitutional crisis.

The confederal option is also justified by the fact that the federal draft, backed by Serbia's and Montenegro's representatives, was also rejected by representatives of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia, since it suggests a greater degree of centralization than any constitutional provision up to this point. At the same time, it was pointed out that Serbia has adopted a constitution which contradicts with the federal model, the very one Serbia suggests to others. The republican Presidency maintains that constructive talks about, and final solutions to, the regulating of mutual relations between the sovereign repubics of Yugoslavia can be carried out only after free elections in all the republics.

The Presidency of the republic warns of the seriousness of the constitutional and political crisis in Yugoslavia, which is an increasingly deteriorating one. On the eve of the democratic elections in the other Yugoslav republics, the dogmatic and hegemonist forces do not even refrain from inciting civil war in their desire to prevent democracy from spreading and to influence the outcome of the final negotiations. In the coming days, until the elections in the other republics have been completed, the Croatia authorities, the Croatian people, and all the republic's citizens, as well as the democratic forces in the other republics, will be put to a test of democratic maturity.

Considering the armed rebellion and the infringements of the legal order in Knin and some other towns, the Croatian leadership has unveiled the causes, aims, and economic damage of such activities—aimed to undermine the new democratic authorities in Croatia from the greater Serbian and Cetnik positions—which have assumed a form of genuine terrorism and roadside thuggery. The Croatian leadership is aware that these events have driven the Croatian population of the threatened areas, and in a way the entire Croatian nation, to the verge of losing patience, but it nevertheless notes that it wants, by its democratic policies, to avoid the introduction of legal order by force and, as a result, has won internal and international trust and the kind of support Croatia has never had so far.

The Presidency of the republic, the Assembly, and the Croatian Government call on the population, particularly on the Croats in the areas of unrest, to keep their peace and patience and not succumb to the scenario which aims to spark off a civil war and entice the Yugoslav Peoples' Army into toppling the democratic constitutional order in Croatia and Slovenia.

Some irresponsible individuals and some Croatian political parties, while ignoring the current internal and international circumstances, are trying to cash in on the increasing embitterment among the Croatian people at the endangerment to the integrity and sovereignty of the republic. The leadership of the Republic of Croatia appeals for reason, concord, and historic responsibility to all the parties and population in Croatia.

The Presidency particularly calls on the Serbian people in Croatia not to succumb to the fabrication that they are endangered in any way whatsover by the Croatian people or by Croatia's democratic authorities. A certain number of Serbs in Croatia are being needlessly scared by force and misinformation while their majority is seeking a way out of this situation by normal coexistence. The presidency calls on the Serbs in Croatia to raise their voice of reason and to disassociate themselves from those who want new bloodshed between the Serbian and Croatian people. It is the duty of all reasonable people to prevent potentially catastrophic consequences and secure the preconditions for the peaceful coexistence of the Serbs and Croats in Croatia as well as of the republics of Serbia and Croatia. The republican Presidency warns of the occurences of certain dogmatic, single-party elements liaising with the nationalist and chauvinist ones from the ranks of active and reserve officers of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army. This is evident in the irresponsible and ominous statements that one should kill all the leaders of the parties and restore the League of Communists of Yugoslavia or that the confederal option of Croatia and Slovenia amounts to an attack on the Yugoslav Peoples' Army and will result in its disintegration by the end of the year. Therefore, there are threats that this will be countered with arms and even herald arrests.

The Presidency expects the military authorities to keep under control, as they have managed so far, the irresponsible conduct of some individuals and to be capable enough to prevent the Army from becoming entangled with those opposing the democratic transformation of the country, which would bring about unforeseeable consequences. After all, the public is expecting the Yugoslav Peoples' Army to get rid of its dogmatic, single-party straitjacket and adjust itself to the democratic changes in the country and the world.

The government of the Republic of Croatia will invest all its efforts in order to ensure that roads and other communications through Croatia are passable. It demands that the federal organs, including the Yugoslav People's Army, present their clear stands on this urgent task and do everything to carry it out.

The planting of mines alongside railway tracks in the wake of the talks between Croatia's delegation and the federal authorities makes it clear that the aim of the armed insurrection is to incite clashes at all costs. The restoration of internal and international traffic is the precondition for any talks and the normalization of the situation. The Croatian authorities will do everything, in cooperation with federal organs, to foil the terrorist activities of the Cetnik armed squads, some of whom have been sneaked in from other republics and abroad. Likewise, the Croatian authorities will be resolute to the same extent in their treatment of any manifestation of Ustasha extremism.

In the event of the Republic of Croatia being endangered, the leadership of the republic states with full responsibility that it will call on the entire Croatian nation and the Croatian diaspora, and address the democratic world public, to defend freedom and democracy and the republic's sovereignty. The Presidency is convinced that reason will prevail and that the implementation of reforms and the democratic transformation will continue in the entire country.

The republican Presidency has adopted the final report by the commission charged with discovering the circumstances under which the flight of the helicopters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was intercepted on 17 August 1990.

In the course of the debate, special emphasis was put on the fact that the flight of the helicopters had been timely registered with the relevant flight control center which had issued permission; that the helicopters were flying at the altitude of 450 meters within the so-called free flight zone; that the helicopters were turned back under the unlawful threat of shooting them down; that they were turned back as the armed rebellion in Knin was breaking out; that such an intervention has no precedent in Yugoslavia so far; and that the responsible representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army came up with statements which leave no room for doubt that the motives for returning the helicopters were of a political nature.

Croatia Favors Democratic Settlement of Conflicts

LD1310231990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2113 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Pazin, 13 Oct (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Croatia "must endure the criminality and lawlessness" of Serbs in Knin so as not to bring into question its hard-won sovereignty and democracy, President of the Croatian parliament Zarko Domljan said today during a conversation with local officials in Pazin, a town on the peninsula of Istria, in western Croatia.

The restraint of the Croatian authorities towards the rebellion in Knin has won worldwide acclaim—but at the same time provoked "justified revolt" in Croatia, Domljan said.

Those parts of Croatia which have majority serb populations are "under an occupation," where Croats are the hostages of well-armed Serbs—the Croatian people are frightened and that fear is already turning into anger which could easily overflow realistic dimensions, Domljan said.

He said Antun Vrdoljak, one of the Croatian vice-presidents, had been told in the U.S. State Department three days ago that the Americans would in case someone blocked vital roads and railways in their country (as the Serbs in Knin have done, explaining the move as an act in self-defence) emulate the manner in which Canada recently dealt with a group of Indians—which means they would send in troops and tanks and clear the way with no mercy, Domljan said.

Domljan pointed out that Croatia favoured democratic settlement of all conflict situations and that it [word indistinct] that and offered together with Slovenia a draft of a confederative treaty as the only way out of the crisis in which the country is deeply embedded.

Tudjman, Ministers Discuss Trip, Confederation

AU1410211290 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 9 Oct 90 p 3

[B. Tudjen report: "We Are All Defending Croatia"]

[Excerpts] Zagreb—Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, Josip Boljkovac, minister of internal affairs, and the president's advisers, Darko Bekic, Slaven Letica, Mario Nobilo, and Hrvoje Sarinic, yesterday [8 October] held a regular news conference at which they talked about the Croatian delegation's visit to the United States and Canada, the situation in the problem areas of the republic, and the proposed confederal model of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Asked to comment on the visit of the Federal Executive Council's [FEC] delegation to Croatia, and the stands taken by the FEC recently, Dr. Tudjman said:

We welcome the arrival of the FEC's delegation in Croatia, especially because the FEC has been fairly passive with regard to current events, even some very

important issues. We and Slovenia demanded that the federal government take part in the drafting of a new historic agreement. Concerning our view about the FEC delegation's visit, just compare how the delegation was received here and how it was received in Kosovo.

One of the question began with the conclusion that a limited military coup had arguably taken place in Ljubljana at the end of last week. Does Croatia have a view on how one should act in such critical situations?

Of course it has, the reply went, but there is no need to call what had happened in Slovenia a limited military coup. An incident involving 16 military policemen is not a limited military coup.

Croatian emigres have offered to send volunteer units if Croatian sovereignty comes under threat, Belgrade Radio journalist Vesna Knezevic said and then asked: Although you have rejected the offer, you have not excluded this possibility?

If Croatia's sovereignty comes under threat, all Croatia, including Croatian emigres, would rise to defend its integrity. I hope that there will be no need for this. [passage omitted]

The president's advisers also answered numerous questions. One of the questions related to the Tudjman-Bush meeting (whether Tudjman has said something about the situation in Croatia and Yugoslavia), Baker's statement, and the conduct of the Yugoslav diplomatic service.

The Tudjman-Bush meeting was brief and cordial, one may even say very cordial—said Hrvoje Sarinic, chief of the cabinet. Baker's statement cannot be regarded a denial of what Tudjman had said on his return, or to be more precise, it cannot be regarded as a denial at present. We are still discussing it, Darko Bekic said. The Yugoslav diplomatic circles have also told some untruths.

Darko Bekic also answered the question concerning the denial of NEUE KRONEN ZEITUNG's article:

The journalist of this paper asked me for some kind of briefing. We had an informal conversation. I pleaded that friendly countries take more interest in Yugoslavia, and this resulted in a misunderstanding.

Road Blockades Said Reappearing in Croatia

LD1210135590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0743 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—Road blockades again last night brought traffic to a halt on several roads in Croatia. Traffic on the Gracac-Knin, Gospic-Gracac in Radac, and Drnis-Kistanje Selo roads, as well as traffic on roads in the Brljan region and on the Sibenik-Djevrske road near Planicnik and Smrdelje, has been brought to a halt by barricades.

As in previous few days, obstacles made out of tree trunks and stones have been hampering the free flow of traffic on roads in the Knin region, according to the Croatian Automobile Association.

Serbian Leader Warns of Long Struggle in Croatia

AU1310205890 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Oct 90 p 8

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "Dr. Jovan Raskovic in Washington"]

[Text] Washington, 4 Oct—The Serbs in Croatia are not destabilizing this republic nor the Croatian people, but they are destabilizing Ustashas, Dr. Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, said in Washington last night.

Addressing Americans hailing from Yugoslavia, among whom Serbs were most numerous, but who also included Croats and Muslims, Raskovic expressed his readiness for a democratic solution of the "Serbian question." He warned, however, that a "long struggle" is ahead.

In his talks with the Helsinki Commission of the U.S. Congress, Raskovic invited the members of this body to visit Croatia and to show at least as much interest in the position of the Serbian populace there as they do in the Albanian [derisive Serbo-Croatian term "siptarski" used] minority in Serbia.

Croat Daily Assesses Army's Role, Position

AU1410214690 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 29 Sep 90 p 1

[Zeljko Luburovic commentary: "Army in the Sights"]

[Text] The half-century-old pillar and guarantor of brotherhood and unity, territorial integrity, and the power of the working class—the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]—recently (un)expectedly found itself the focus of attention and polemics almost everywhere in Yugoslavia. The political-ideological manipulation of the Army, to which it itself contributed by airing the views of its leading men—who are predominantly members of the League of Communists in the JNA—on the Army as a maintainer of discipline which decides what is politically acceptable in Yugoslavia and what is not, thus placing itself in the position of the one who is supposed to prevent an alleged civil war, has finally become obvious.

Living only a few months in the republics enjoying civil and political freedoms—Slovenia and Croatia—was enough for the disintegration of the fictitious political unity in Yugoslavia and its political designer, the League of Communists, to directly affect attitudes toward the JNA. The new political climate has enabled people to ask all kinds of questions about the previously politically untouchable Army—which maintained this inviolability by continuously stressing the need for protecting military and state secrets—even questions about its role under the new social conditions.

Whether the Army likes it or not, the half-century-old taboo is being destroyed, placed in the fire-swept area of the criticism which come from the republics in which multiparty elections have already taken place. We need not even mention newspaper reports and political and citizens' initiatives that were directly caused by and dealt with the principles on which the JNA and the defense system as a whole function.

"Washing dirty linen" showed that the Army was not much of a moral and even less of a political puritan. The following cases are justly raising the question of whom the JNA belongs to, and what it should be like: A junior officer of the JNA was given an eight year prison sentence for shooting dead an Albanian youth in Kosovo, despite the Army's claims, following numerous expert studies, that this was not the case; the mysterious deaths of ethnic Albanian soldiers, which, according to official reports, were suicides without any connection with maltreatment in the JNA, but, according to the media—which even showed the photographs of some of those who committed suicide—these deaths are classic cases of murder; Janez Jansa, Borstner, Zavrl, and Tasic, who divulged military secrets by publishing some information in MLADINA, ended up in prison, and yet Jansa is now the defense minister of Slovenia; the interception of the helicopters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia, resulted, after all, in the Federal Executive Council subsequently setting up a commission to establish the facts; the citizens of Rijeka are suing the JNA because its airplanes broke the sound barrier; and the latest case involves the overhaul of Iraqi MiG's in the Zmaj plant of Velika Gorica.

The recent dissociation of the Slovene authorities from the federal Army command, and the initiatives launched in both Croatia and Slovenia for young men from these republics to do their military service in their own republics, are simply the necessary result of the mistrust toward the JNA. So, while some people are taking a critical stand toward the JNA, and others are calling upon it for help, the future is uncertain. The only thing that can make it certain is that the Army and state leaderships accept a democratic dialogue on the position and role of the JNA under the changed social circumstances without avoiding the truth, however bitter it may be.

Croatian National Party Holds Founding Assembly

LD1310221990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2017 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Oct (TANJUG)—The Croatian National Party (CNP) [acronym as received] is extending its full support to the efforts being made by the Croatian authorities to avoid bloodshedding in the settlement of the crisis in the part of that republic populated predominantly by Serbs, and to the Croatian leadership's option for a confederative organization of Yugoslavia.

This was said today at the founding assembly of the CNP, which assembles politicians from the former Coalition of National Agreement, the losing force at the first post-war multi-party election in the republic in April this year.

It was noted at the assembly, which took place in the Croatian capital Zagreb, that the party now has eight regional branches, initiatiating committees in 68 communes and a total of about 10,000 members.

Dr. Savka Dabcevic Kucar was elected president of the party at the session. In the early 1970's she was the head of the republican government, but withdrew from the political scene after being accused of taking part in a Croatian separatist movement.

She returned to political life this spring, appearing as a candidate for the losing Coalition of National Agreement.

Tudjman Responds to Bosnian Presidency's Letter

LD1310233390 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, sent a letter to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency replying to their open letter dated 22 September in connection with activities of some prominent Croatian Democratic Community representatives and the Croatian Government in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Dr. Franjo Tudjman stresses in his letter that, as the relations within Yugoslavia are exacerbating, he holds that frequent contacts and exchanges of views between the leadership of sovereign republics in Yugoslavia are very useful. The Croatian Presidency abides by such a policy even toward those republics which continue to refuse top-level talks. In this context, he considers it possible that, at least through an open letter, possible misunderstandings and disagreements can be solved.

He says: I can repeat with full responsibility that the policy of the Republic of Croatia procedes from a complete recognition of sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This policy has not changed since delegations of our republics had talks in Zagreb on 23 July. The Republic of Croatia has no reason to destabilize in any way the process of internal democratization and the forthcoming multiparty elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina. On the contrary, history, national structure, geopolitical position, and traditionally good relations steer our two republics towards close cooperation, especially as regards an attempt at political destabilization of the Republic of Croatia in the border zone with Bosnia-Hercegovina.

He writes: These basic starting points and our mutual interests should be the basis for evaluating some individual tactless statements by representatives of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian Democratic Community in Bosnia-Hercegovina, from which we distance

ourselves; hence we hope that the statements will not disturb our close cooperation and understanding. We also expect that our sincere interest in a successful outcome of democratic elections in your republic will be understood, as well as cooperation with all citizens, particularly with the Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, concludes the letter of reply from Dr. Franjo Tudjman to the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bosnian Presidency Warns Serb 'Voluntary Units'

LD1510040390 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency has sent a letter to all presidents of municipal assemblies in Bosnia-Hercegovina, warning them of the invalidity of some attempts to form certain units for so-called variant purposes. This was stated on the daily Sarajevo Television news by Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency member and president of its Council for National Defense Branko Ekert, in connection with information that armed units are being formed in some border municipalities of Bosnia-Hercegovina and of the Republic of Croatia.

Before this statement, Sarajevo Television broadcast reports from its correspondents in Sipovo and Siroki Breg and information on the recent blocking of the Dubrovnik-Trebinje road. On the other hand, Ekert said, we are taking measures to enforce the present laws—primarily the law on public meetings.

A representative of the Serbian Renaissance Movement from Sipovo, in his statement for Sarajevo Television last night, did not conceal that he knew about the organization of voluntary units; as a reason he stated that the Serbian people in neighboring Croatia were allegedly endangered.

Markovic Addresses Bosnia-Hercegovina Leaders

LD1210185490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—The implementation of reforms is proceeding alongside the process of restructuring of the state itself, but in some parts no changes to the system are being made and statism is being stepped up instead. This was stated by Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic during his talks with Marko Ceranic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Executive Council, and members of the republican government.

The present conflicts also promises the denouement of the first phase of these changes. Further implementation of reforms poses more and more questions and some of them are often politicized because the struggle for power and the desire to slow down the course of development is often behind them. Only new processes, together with stepping up progressive forces, can prevent such tendencies, Markovic said.

The FEC once again examined the macroeconomic policies which have been included in the global model of the implementation of the reforms. The dinar exchange rate, which has remained unaltered, and the implementation of the law on incomes, on which the FEC is insisting, will ensure that inflation remains within the planned framework. In the next period we will struggle for a reduction in general and especially in joint consumption, Prime Minister Markovic said.

The key role in maintaining macroeconomic policies will be taken over by the department of imports with a view to conducting a protective policy. The prices of 15 to 20 agricultural products, foodstuffs, and other products are expected either to drop or to remain at the present level, Markovic added.

As far as other measures are concerned, it is important to stress that the establishment of a capital market is in its final stage. The banking system is to be reorganized soon. Without this, no development can be expected, Markovic said. [passage omitted]

Bosnia-Herzegovina Serb National Council Founded

LD1310230590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1840 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Banja Luka, 13 Oct (TANJUG)—The position of the Serbian people in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot be changed through any parliament decisions but only by way of a referendum. Should parliament decisions be taken, the Serbian people will never recognize them, it was concluded at the all-Serbian gathering in Banja Luka, Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

A Serbian National Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina was founded at the gathering.

Elaborating on the decision to found this forum, president of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radovan Karadzic said the end game of dismemberment of Yugoslavia was unfolding, and the Serbian people, in his view, were being threatened with civil war.

The gathering was attended by the most prominent representatives of the SDS and the Serbian Renewal Movement from the Yugoslav republics of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Prior to the Yugoslav national anthem, a minute of silence was observed in tribute to Rahman Morina, the leader of communists in the Yugoslav republic of Serbia's Kosovo and Metohija Province, who died on Friday.

It is estimated that the gathering, at which the SDS paper OTADZBINA was promoted, rallied some 20,000 party members.

New Muslim Party Established Following Split

AU0510082190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Sep 90 p 4

[M. Lucic report: "Without Islam for Political Purposes"]

[Text] Sarajevo—Another Muslim party is being set up in Bosnia-Hercegovina. After the split in the leadership of the Muslim Party of Democratic Action, an initiative meeting was held on Monday [24 September] evening in the Sarajevo Youth Hall concerned with setting up the Bosnian Muslim Party [Muslimansko-Bosnjacka Stranka]. The new party is being set up by Adil Zulfikarpasic, the former vice president of the Party of Democratic Action, Muhamed Filipovic, and Hamza Mujagic, who were expelled from the Party of Democratic Action.

As announced at this meeting, the Bosnian Muslim party will have a liberal-democratic orientation and will not be ideological or nationalistic. The party's aim is a political democratic struggle to complete the national emancipation of Bosnian Muslims. The statement stresses that this party will not use Islam for political purposes, but it will consistently fight for the right of Bosnian Muslims to practice and develop their faith freely and without any restrictions. The party will also fight for the religious rights of the other citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina and work toward respect for the principles of the equality of peoples, nations, religions, and individual freedoms, and the rights of all people.

As stressed at the initiative meeting, the Bosnian Muslim Party will also be committed to the economic prosperity of Bosnia-Hercegovina and particularly the denationalization of property.

The public announcement specifies: "We will open ourselves up not only to Europe but also the rest of the world. We will nurture the best relations with Muslim countries on the basis of our basic policy. We believe that relations with Eastern countries could be one of the sources of the development of our economy. Bosnian Muslims have been and must remain a bridge between the West and East."

The founding assembly of the Bosnian Muslim Party will be held next Sunday [7 October] in Sarajevo and it will then be announced whether it will be called the Bosnian Muslim party or community.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Draft Program

The draft program of the Bosnian Muslim community (organization, party) was presented at the initiative meeting and says that this is a "political association of Bosnian Muslims and all citizens who consider Bosnia-Hercegovina (Herceg Bosna) to be their homeland and belong to its great cultural historical traditions."

Muslim Bosniak Organization Registers

LD1110074290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—The Muslim Bosniak Organization [Muslimanska Bosnjacka Organizacija—MBO] was registered today with the Sarajevo Higher Court.

As has been reported, this party was set up as a result of a recent rift between Adil Zulfikarpasic, the former vice president of the Democratic Action Party [SDA], and some members of the SDA leadership.

The MBO is headed by Adil Zulfikarpasic, who advocates a democratic and liberal option. The party will not have strict organizational structure but will largely rely to its committees in all Bosnia-Hercegovina municipalities.

Alliance of Reform Forces Holds Founding Assembly

LD1310154590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1123 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Summary] Novi Sad, 13 Oct (TANJUG)—The founding assembly of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije—SRSJ] for Vojvodina began today in Novi Sad. The assembly is being attended by the chairman of the party's initiative committee, Ante Markovic. The opening address was given by Nandor Petar, member of the provisional coordination committee of the SRSJ for Vojvodina.

Markovic Addresses Assembly

LD1310225890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2006 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 13 Oct (TANJUG)—The Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia favours a Yugoslavia in which all citizens will enjoy all liberties and rights, regardless of their ethnic, religious or political affiliation, Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovich said at today's founding assembly of the party's branch in the province of Vojvodina.

Markovic said the "reformists" would not "deceive themselves with fictitious dilemmas [word indistinct] federation or confederation."

The Yugoslav crisis is nearing its final, and more and more people will turn towards reforms, Markovic said.

The reformists are advocating a true autonomy for the provinces, republican sovereignty and a new system in Yugoslavia which will be impossible to usurp by any political party, the Yugoslav prime minister said.

We are not advocating living next to each other but together, Markovic stressed.

The alliance was founded in July this year on the basis of an initiative by Markovic.

The Alliance of Reformist Forces has diverted the emphasis from national problems, which are burdening Yugoslavia and threatening to destroy it, to the field of labour and money, and that is more than a programme—it is a revolution—well-known Yugoslav writer Aleksandar Tisma, a supporter of the party from Vojvodina, said in a message sent to the assembly.

The founding assembly was attended by about 600 delegates, who represented the roughly 10,000 members of the alliance in Vojvodina.

Supports Provinces' Autonomy

LD1510052290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1143 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—We are not going to delude ourselves with false dilemmas—federation or confederation—but we support a Yugoslavia in which each and every citizen will feel free and enjoy all his inalienable rights, regardless of his national, religious, or political affiliation.

Chairman of the SRSJ initiative committee, Ante Markovic, said this in Novi Sad yesterday at the founding assembly of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Vojvodina [Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije za Vojvodinu].

We support the real autonomy of provinces, he added, the independence and sovereignty of all our republics, without exceptions—a Yugoslavia that will grow out of the new political, economic, and social system, that will provide new contents and lay out a new structure within the framework of this country, and that will lay down firm foundations for a new Yugoslavia which no party will be able to usurp according to its liking.

Instead of entertaining false dilemmas, Markovic assessed, we will have to make sure that the amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution are adopted as a minimum; that, on the basis of these and democratic multiparty pluralism, elections are held throughout the whole country, from the level of municipalities to the Yugoslav level; and following this, that parliaments established through multiparty struggles so as to obtain the mandate of the people, of all citizens in our country.

Because of what has recently been happening in our country and what has been tackled by reformist forces, Yugoslavia has embarked on a process of change—the only one standing a chance of carrying out the revolutionary transformation of one system into another, in a way that suits the interests of all of us, both as individuals and as a country, and that would achieve all this by democratic means and methods, with efforts and sweat—but without blood, Ante Markovic stressed.

The denouement is approaching and we know, Markovic said, that during at least one stage of this process of development, as this denouement further unfolds, an increasing number of citizens will be in favor of the reforms and will organize themselves on the reformist platform.

However, Markovic noted, there will also be an increasing number of organized rebellions, and demands to set up volunteer squads to defend one's freedom, and the like; most often this will be a matter manipulation by those who are motivated by all sorts of interests, those who have seized power, or those who want to maintain their grip on power.

A transition from one system to another, Ante Markovic added, is very demanding and is accompanied by turbulences of lesser or greater degree. We are now at a point where we have in fact already departed from the old system and started building the new one, but we have not yet completed it.

We are about to change the structure of ownership. We have almost organized the goods and services market, and those who criticized us for having stinted somebody of more, or somebody of less, should understand that the liberalization of prices, has not existed in our country since the war.

Because of that, we are offering a new, more effective economic system. If the structure of ownership is not changed, all political changes will be a mere facade, and old relatons will be reproduced in the very structure.

Some are afraid of everything that the reform is bringing, and now they are even afraid of those who are organizing themselves politically to implement the reform. The reform results and its advocates are increasingly attacked. The convertibility of the dinar is denied, the closing of the borders demanded, and investments which would produce an unsuitable economic structure insisted on—and all this is done to protect one's own interests or to maintain one's own power.

We have not let ourselves "be drawn into" the numerous conflicts that are nowadays attempting to break up this country, because we do not wish to see a country in which its constitutent parts will be separated in one way or organized in another. In this country we wish to have all nations and nationalities, all republics and provinces which we have had so far.

Fear will also be spread in the future—they will keep frightening you—but you should not be afraid of anybody, the chairman of the SRSJ Initiative Committee said, adding that he knows a way out of the crisis and that he is ready to employ all his efforts to ensure that this country finds a way out the crisis. We are ready, Ante Markovic said, to employ all our efforts, and therefore not a single citizen, not a single nation, province, or republic, should feel anxiety. We will fight for a right to be granted to everybody—a right to live not one

next to another, but together. We will fight for democracy, and to ensure that there are more rights and freedoms, so that one does not go to bed in fear, and wake up with anxiety.

There is no reason to fear; we can feel the strength that pulsates in this movement, which says: Let us participate in the elections with all the citizens who support the reform—and we will win. With this Ante Markovic concluded his speech.

Bucar: Constitution Most Important Reform Step

LD1210190990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1150 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—"The proposal for a new Slovene constitution is the most important step in the transformation of our society in the process which was set in train with the democratic, multiparty elections in this Assembly," Dr. France Bucar, president of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, stressed at today's joint session of the republican parliament. The delegates of all three chambers have only one item on their agenda, the draft of the new Slovene constitution.

"Although with the recent adoption of two amendments and the constitutional laws Slovenia has separated itself from the federal legal system and has fully affirmed its normative autonomy, it is nevertheless bound by its constitution," Bucar said. That constitution, with almost 100 amendments, has already to a large extent been adjusted to the new circumstances, but it is nevertheless still a reflection of a real-socialist social order which is being abolished with the present social reform and replaced with another.

This different organization proceeds from the individual as the first and last criterion of the social system. "It is therefore understandable," Bucar said, "that such a constitutional concept must direct its central attention to the protection of the basic rights of the individual and of the citizen." That is why that part of the constitution is the most significant and, in functional terms, represents its focus.

The democratic concept of government, Bucar continued, should for its part gain expression in a freely elected parliament as the highest exponent of authority and in the government accountable to it. A parliament is the final arbiter on all sociopolitical issues. A parliament should have one chamber and be elected on the basis of free and direct elections. The draft constitution proposes the variant which envisages the institution of a state council, a senate, which would nevertheless not function as a second parliamentary chamber but only as a corrective one. It would have a legislative-interventionist and corrective function.

Bucar added that in this system the government, as a cabinet, has a classic administrative and executive function which does not differ from the universal model of a cabinet system. However, for the sake of greater stability of government and in order to avoid constant government crises, prominence has been given to the concept taken from the German legal system of the institution of so-called constructive no-confidence vote. According to this principle, it is only possible to have a vote of no-confidence in the government if, at the same time, a new prime minister is elected. In this way its continuity is guaranteed.

The stability of the government system can also be ensured by greater affirmation of the so-called presidential system. The proposed draft of the constitution leaves this question largely open.

According to Bucar, particular attention is devoted once again to the function assigned to local self-management. This constitutional draft abandons the present communal system. Bucar also noted the new function of the constitutional court, and the fact that the draft embraces alternative proposals.

Bucar said that the majority in the constitutional commission and in the delegates' clubs has endorsed the proposal that the public debate should last until 30 November, provided, of course, that the delegates adopt the draft document today. However, the state and legal status of Slovenia does not directly depend on the adoption of the constitution, Bucar said, even though the constitution particularly defines the sovereignty of Slovenia as a state. In the last resort, the independence and sovereignty of Slovenia can be proclaimed by a special constitutional-legal act independently of the constitution, Bucar concluded.

In the debate in separate sessions, delegates in the Sociopolitical Chamber from the ranks of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation [ZSMS]-Liberal Party and the Slovene League of Communists [LC]-Party of Democratic Reform pointed out that the time limit for public debate is too short and proposed that the deadline for establishing proposals on the constitution should be extended to the end of the year. [passage omitted]

Delegates of the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Slovene Assembly decided at today's session that the draft of the new constitution of the Republic of Slovenia should go to public debate. The proposals from the debate at today's session of the Chamber of Associated Labor should go to public debate at the same time. In addition the delegates of the Chamber of Associated Labor decided that the public debate on the draft of the constitution of the Republic of Slovenia should last until 30 November, but that it could, if circumstances changed, be shortened, extended, or curtailed by a special conclusion of the republican Assembly.

Delegate of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] to the Chamber of Associated Labor, Colonel Milan Aksentijevic, proposed that the draft Slovene constitution introduce the principle that citizens from other republics have the same rights as citizens of Slovenia, that is Slovenes. Further on in the debate, Milan Aksentijevic clarified his

original proposal and stated that the citizens of Slovenia are all the inhabitants of this republic who, on the day of the adoption of the constitution, are properly registered at their local office. [passage omitted]

All three chambers passed the draft constitution of the Republic of Slovenia which will go to public debate through the end of November. The Sociopolitical Chamber, in an additional conclusion, called on the Constitutional Commission to present a proposal by the next Assembly session on how they intend to organize the public debate.

Slovenia Denies Defense Secretariat Statement

AU1210173190 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 2 Oct 90 p 2

[Statement by the Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia; place and date not given: "Federal Secretariat for National Defense Denies a Nonexistent Statement"]

[Text] In a statement published in the media on 29 September 1990, the authoritative Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense responded to a portion of the interview with Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, on the 25 September "In Focus" program of Slovene Television.

The Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia notes that the statement by the Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense is quite correct in denying that Milan Kucan held any talks with Veljko Kadijevic, and in explaining that he did not request any answers or explanations from him in the last few days. However, it is incorrect in its assumption that President Kucan requested any reply from the federal secretary. In his television interview, Milan Kucan actually said in this regard: "Two weeks ago, there were some indications that weapons were being moved, especially heavy weapons, belonging to the Yugoslav People's Army and not to the Territorial Defense Force. This happened immediately before the session of the SFRY Presidency which I attended, and I posed this question there. An SFRY Presidency session was held today, and the Federal Secretary for National Defense replied to this question saying 'that it is a matter of formation and organization movements and rearmament of the units in the territory of Slovenia, and not movements outside this territory.'"

It is quite clear from this statement that President Kucan never addressed a question to the Federal Secretary for National Defense but did address one to the SFRY Presidency, which is to say the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces. He obtained his reply from the Supreme Command, which in turn requested and obtained a reply from the Federal Secretary for National Defense.

Obviously the Information Service of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense denied a nonexistent statement. By twisting and overlooking some facts, it wishes to create the impression that the President of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia irresponsibly speculates and deludes the public.

The Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia.

Slovene Green Party Favors Demilitarization

LD1310221690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2022 GMT 13 Oct 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 13 Oct (TANJUG)—The idea of a Slovenia without a military should become a fundamental constitutional feature of this Yugoslav Republic, it was stressed today at a meeting of the Presidency of the Slovenian Green Party which focused on the draft of the new republican constitution.

Most participants came out in favour of an immediate and complete demilitarization of Slovenia. It was proposed that a relevant article be included in the new constitution, and that a referendum be organized in case the proposal is not accepted in the public debate process.

The draft constitution was submitted for public debate three days ago, and is intended to be adopted as soon as possible.

Democratic Election Bloc of Serbia Established

LD1410213990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1558 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—The Democratic Bloc of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia intends to re-affirm the stand essentially different from the two prevailing ideologies - the Bolshevist and the nationalistic, said on Sunday [14 October] Nebojsa Popov, president of the Belgrade branch of the Yugoslav Association for Democratic Initiative (UJDI), one of the parties preparing a new election coalition.

The Democratic Bloc of Serbia, as set out by Popov, urges the protection of human rights, civil freedoms, public control and restriction to power, i.e., all that which neither the Bolshevist nor the nationalistic concept of power guarantees.

The UJDI, the Liberal Forum, the Peasants' Party, the Greens and the Womens' Lobby have announced their intention to join the democratic election coalition of Serbia.

It is the wish of the democratic coalition, Popov said, that fair elections be the winner in the coming multiparty elections in Serbia as well as that representatives of parties standing for solving the fundamental problems of life be elected to the parliament.

Kosovo SAWP, LC Merge, Form Socialist Party

LD1210185790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Text] Pristina, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—In Pristina, separate sessions of the Kosovo League of Communists's special conference and the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People began this morning aimed at relieving the organs and bodies of these two organizations of their duties. They will also decide to terminate their existence and delegates will be appointed to the first conference of the provincial organization of the Socialist Party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije—SPS] for Kosovo and Metohija.

The first conference of the SPS for Kosovo and Metohija will be held this afternoon, and 383 delegates and 167 guests are expected to take part in its work. In line with its established structure, its main committee, statutory monitoring commission, and a president of the committee will be elected. Zivorad Igic and Jagos Zelenovic are nominated for this post.

Kosovo LC President Morina Dies 12 Oct

LD1210202390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2001 GMT 12 Oct 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee and chairman of the committee for the preparation of the first conference of the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] for Kosovo and Metohija, died in Pristina this evening. [passage omitted]

The task of leading the SPS organization for Kosovo and Metohija will be taken over by the executive committee of the SPS.

Charges Allegedly Brought Against Kosovo's Rugova

LD1410212290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 14 Oct 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—According to well-informed sources in Pristina, the security service has brought criminal charges against Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance.

According to the sources, the grounds for the criminal charges are an appeal by Rugova and the Kosovo Democratic Alliance leadership calling on Albanians to come out on a general strike on 3 September and advising Albanian school children to stay away from classrooms on that day, because of possible clashes with "Serbian authorities". The advice, signed by Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, was published in the Albanian-language education magazine SKENDIJA, and was repeated at a news conference on the eve of the strike.

The paper JEDINSTVO, which has already reported the decision to file criminal charges, claims that the public prosecutor's office in Pristina has upheld the charges and that additional details about Rugova's unlawful conduct are being compiled for possible indictment. [passage omitted]

FEC's Pregl Talks With Kosovo Alternative

AU1410202690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Oct 90 p 2

[M. Antic report: "Eagles Fly High"]

[Text] Pristina—However peaceful, academic, and to a large extent diplomatic the discussions between the Federal Executive Council [FEC] delegation headed by Deputy President Zivko Pregl and those who introduced themselves as "chosen" representatives of the Albanian people, leaders of the Kosovo alternative parties, and a group of Kosovo delegates to the Federal Assembly may have been, they at times erupted into a battle of wits, and assumed polemic tones.

Whenever one of the federal delegation or some other participant "popped up" with his own opinion or an "uncomfortable" question, the discussions became furious, and in fact all the cards were put on the table.

For instance, it was enough to start an argument for FEC Deputy President Zivko Pregl to remark, "It is indispensable to create conditions for dialogue. I know that there is much that concerns both sides, but everyone must swallow a bitter pill, and make a concession."

Riza Alaj, spokesman for the Kosovo delegation to the Federal Chamber, was categorical:

"There can be no dialogue if it is conditional. It is the right of every people, and therefore of the Albanian people, to declare to what extent they wish to remain in Yugoslavia. We will not take part in such a dialogue, because we are under occupation."

"On the other hand," Pregl replied calmly, "We have different information, according to which the whole burden is being borne by ordinary Albanians, who are forced to give up their jobs...."

"What I can say," Alaj retorted, "is that the situation must return to normal before any dialogue, and that the Assembly, the Executive Council, and all the provincial organs must be in operation."

The discussion became tense at the point when Jovo Vuckovic, assistant federal secretary for internal affairs, asked Riza Alaj the following:

"It is right that everybody should have the right to take part in settling the constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia. Does this imply that the Albanian people, as you term them, have the right to declare themselves in favor of a republic of Kosovo?"

"Which people do not have that right?" Alaj retorted angrily. "What people on your list?"

"Any people, but no nationality," Vuckovic replied.

"A question like that smells of provocation," Alaj remarked, "from the imposition of the term nationality alone, or national minority, as the current phrase is, some people do not have full human rights. Nobody, not even an African would agree to something like that. Three million Albanians in Yugoslavia are a people, not a nationality."

A discussion on the same subject, but not in the same form, also took place at the FEC delegation's meeting with members of the Kosovo alternative parties.

Fehmi Agani, Bajram Kelmendi, Gazmend Zajmi, Shkelzen Maliqi, and others clearly informed the FEC delegation that the "The Albanians are a people," that "Kosovo is a republic," and that "Anyone who wishes to wipe out a real and legal situation" must "reckon with military games."

Gazmend Zajmi, trying to describe to the delegation what the Albanians want and do not want, said:

"You must realize that an eagle cannot turn into a sparrow."

The FEC delegation, although the discussion was a diplomatic once, did not pass over all this in silence, but in a controlled way said, "Nothing will come of this."

Reformed Communists Top Macedonian Opinion Poll

AU0710174290

[Editorial Report] Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian on 29 September on page 13 carries a 2,000-word report on the results of a public opinion poll conducted by NOVA MAKEDONIJA on the forthcoming elections in the Macedonia, entitled "With the Winner Or Against Him"

The report does not provide any information about the size or composition of the sample. It only states that the poll was a telephone poll.

The results of the poll are presented in two tables as follows:

1. Table "Which party has the greatest chance of winning in the elections?"

[bar chart with figures expressed in percentages]

1. LCM-PDP [League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Change]	36.19
2. Alliance of Reform Forces	11.88
3. MAAK [Movement for all-Macedonian Action]	4.14
4. VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity]	2.76
5. Socialist Alliance	2.49
6. Party for Democratic Prosperity	2.21
7. Other parties	5.80
8. Undecided	34.53

1. Table "Which party has the greatest chance of winning in the elections?" (Continued)

2. Table "How will those who are not members of any parties vote?"

[bar chart with figures expressed in percentages]

1. LCM-PDP	25.0
2. Alliance of Reform Forces	13.43
3. Party of Yugoslavs	5.97
4. VMRO-DPMNE	4.1
5. MAAK	3.35
6. Socialist Alliance	3.35
7. League for Democracy	2.98
8. Other parties	6.76
9. Undecided	35.06

Macedonian Alliance of Reform Forces Convenes

LD0610091790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1654 GMT 5 Oct 90

[Text] Skopje, 5 Oct (TANJUG)—Creation of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Macedonia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Makedonije– SRSM] is a historic moment for both Yugoslavia and Macedonia, the chairman of the Yugoslav Initiative Committee of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije—SRSJ] and Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic said at the SRSM founding assembly today.

Approximately 4,000 people attended the assembly of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Macedonia, which elected Stojan Andov chairman of the republican committee, who was previously Yugoslav ambassador to Iraq and a long-standing Yugoslav and Macedonian official. Risto Ivanov was elected first vice-chairman; he is the chairman of the Democratic-Progressive Youth Party of Macedonia [Mlada Progresivna Demokratska Stranka Makedonije], which joined the alliance of reform forces today. Georgi Hadzivaskov was elected second vice chairman.

The SRSM republican committee was founded at the assembly today. The SRSM republican committee, with 38 members, was also elected at the assembly today.

The Social-Democratic Party of Macedonia today also joined the coalition with the Alliance of Reform Forces of Macedonia.

Opening the SRSM founding assembly, Stojan Andov said that in Macedonia 40,000 people from various social classes and of various nationalities have joined and support this organization. This is a clear sign that Macedonian voters will opt for the SRSM, which offers a profound reconstruction of all segments of life. The SRSM is a nucleus which will act as a catalyst in the appeasement of national conflicts.